



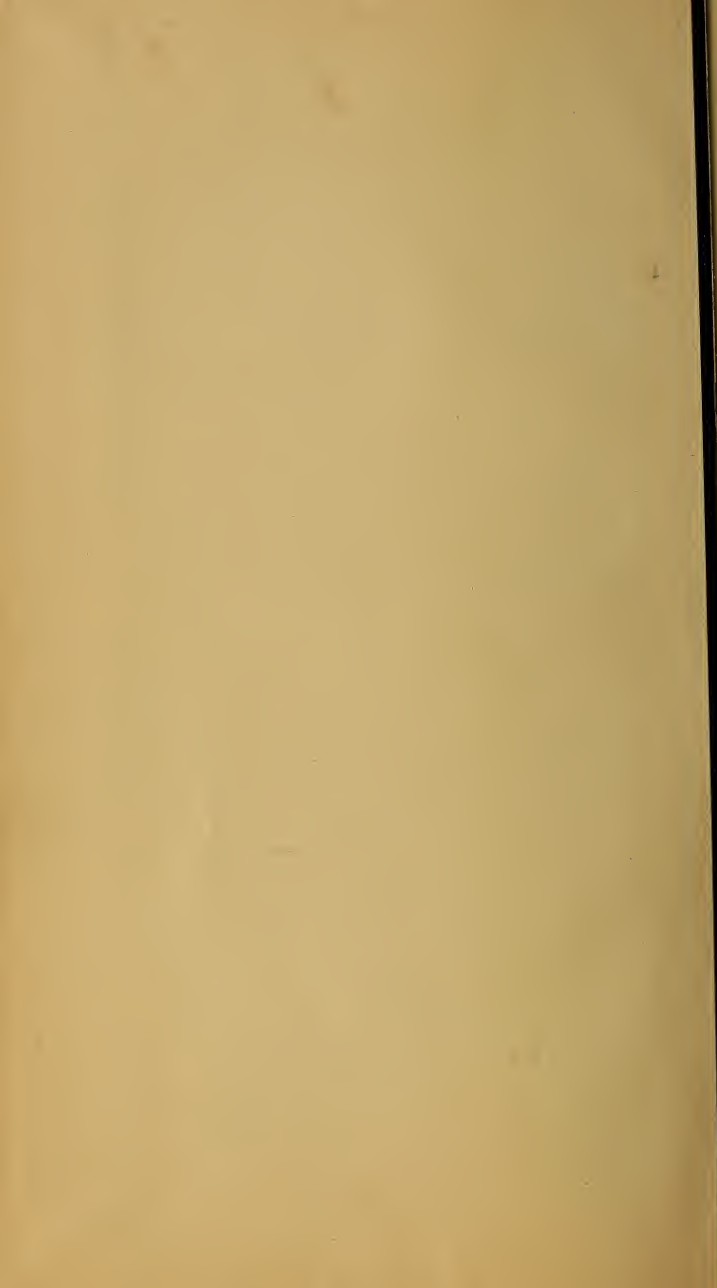


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M. TULLII CICERONIS

1408  
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CATO MAJOR SIVE DE SENECTUTE,

LAELIUS SIVE DE AMICITIA,

ET

EPISTOLAE SELECTAE.

WITH

NOTES, AND AN INDEX,

BY

GEORGE LONG.

LONDON:

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## PREFACE.

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“AFTER the child hath learned perfectly the eight parts of speech, let him then learn the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent. And in learning farther his syntaxis, by mine advice, he shall not use the common order in common schools, for making of Latines: whereby the child commonly learneth, first, an evil choice of words<sup>1</sup>, (and right choice of words, saith Caesar, is the foundation of eloquence); then a wrong placing of words; and, lastly, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgment, both of words and sentences. These faults, taking once root in youth, be never, or hardly plucked away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing, that hath more, either dulled the wits, or taken away the will of children from learning, than the care they have to satisfy their masters in making of Latines.

“For the scholar is commonly beat for the making, when the master were more worthy to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same; the master many times being as ignorant as the child, what to say properly and fitly to the matter.

“Two schoolmasters have set forth in print, either of them a book of such kind of Latines<sup>2</sup>, Horman and Whittington. A

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, Brutus c. 72, where it is said of Caesar—“Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus quum ad te ipsum (inquit, in me intuens) de ratione loquendi accuratissime scripserit, primoque in libro dixerit verborum delectum originem esse eloquentiae,” &c. Compare Suetonius, Caesar, 56.

<sup>2</sup> I have formerly seen Mr. Horman's book, who was master of Eton school. The book itself could be of no great use, for, as I remember, 'twas only a collection of single sentences, without order or method, put into Latine. Upton's note.

child shall learn of the better of them, that which another day, if he be wise and come to judgment, he must be fain to unlearn again. There is a way touched in the<sup>3</sup> first book of Cicero de Oratore, which wisely brought into schools, truly taught, and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherly fear in making of Latines, but would also with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a facility to write, a true judgment both of his own and other men's doings, what tongue soever he doth use.

"The way is this. After the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto him the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together, and chosen out by Sturmius for the capacity of children.

"First, let him teach the child cheerfully and plainly the cause and matter of the letter; then, let him construe it into English, so oft, as the child may easily carry away the understanding of it; lastly, parse it over perfectly. This done thus, let the child, by and by, both construe and parse it over again; so that it may appear, that the child doubteth in nothing that his master taught him before. After this, the child must take a paper book, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompt him, by himself, let him translate into English his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin book, and pausing an hour at the least, then let the child translate his own English into Latin again in another paper book. When the child bringeth it turned into Latin, the master must compare it with Tully's book, and lay them both together;

<sup>3</sup> De Oratore, i. 34. "Postea mihi placuit, eoque sum usus adolescens, ut summorum oratorum Graecas orationes explicarem, quibus lectis hoc assequer ut, cum ea quae legerem Graece Latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer et tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quaedam verba imitando quae nova nostris essent, dummodo essent idonea." Cicero says nothing of turning back his Latin into Greek, for his object was to improve his Latin style. The Roman writers improved their tongue chiefly by translations from the Greek; and the translation from Latin and Greek authors has been one of the modes of improving modern languages, as Gilbert Burnet remarks in the preface to his translation of More's Utopia.

and where the child doth well, either in chusing or true placing Tully's words, let the master praise him, and say, 'Here you do well.' For, I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit, and encourage a will to learning, as is praise.

"But if the child miss, either in forgetting a word, or in changing a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frown or chide with him if the child have done his diligence, and used no truandship therein. For I know by good experience, that a child shall take more profit of two faults gently warned of, than of four things rightly hit; for then the master shall have good occasion to say unto him, 'Tully would have used such a word, not this: Tully would have placed this word here, not there; would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender; he would have used this mood, this tense, this simple rather than this compound; this adverb here, not there; he would have ended the sentence with this verb, not with that noun or participle,' &c.

"In these few lines I have wrapped up the most tedious part of grammar, and also the ground of almost all the rules, that are so busily taught by the master, and so hardly learnt by the scholar in all common schools; which after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholar shall learn without great pain; the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholar being brought into so plain and easy a way. And therefore we do not condemn rules, but we gladly teach rules, and teach them more plainly, sensibly, and orderly, than they be commonly taught in common schools. For when the master shall compare Tully's book with the scholar's translation, let the master at the first lead and teach his scholar to join the rules of his grammar book with the examples of his present lesson, until the scholar by himself be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example; so as the grammar book be ever in the scholar's hand, and also used of him as a dictionary for every present use. This is a lively and perfect way of teaching of rules; where the common way used in common schools, to read the grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.

"Let your scholar be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but



use discreetly the best allurements you can to encourage him to the same; least his overmuch fearing of you drive him to seek some disorderly shift; as to seek to be helped by some other book, or to be prompted by some other scholar; and so go about to beguile you much and himself more.

“ With this way of good understanding the matter, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerful admonishing, and heedful amending of faults, never leaving behind just praise for well doing, I would have the scholar brought up withal, till he had read and translated over the first book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good piece of a comedy of Terence also.

“ All this while, by mine advice, the child shall use to speak no Latin; for, as Cicero saith in like matter, with like words, ‘loquendo male loqui discunt;’ and that excellent learned man, G. Budaeus, in his Greek Commentaries, sore complaineth, that when he began to learn the Latin tongue, use of speaking Latin at the table and elsewhere unadvisedly, did bring him to such an evil choice of words, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more all the days of his life afterwards, both for readiness in speaking and also good judgment in writing.

“ In very deed<sup>4</sup>, if children were brought up in such an house or such a school, where the Latin tongue were properly and perfectly spoken, as Tib. and C. Gracchi were brought up in their mother Cornelia’s house, surely then the daily use of speaking were the best and readiest way to learn the Latin tongue. But now, commonly in the best schools in England, for words; right choice is smally regarded, true property wholly neglected, confusion is brought in, barbarousness is bred up so in young wits, as afterward they be not only marred for speaking, but also

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, Brutus, 58. “ Sed magni interest quos quisque audiat quotidie domi, quibuscum loquatur a puero, quemadmodum patres, paedagogi, matres etiam loquantur. Legimus epistolas Corneliae matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris.” In another passage of the Brutus (c. 27) he speaks again of the care of this Roman matron about her son’s education: “ Fuit Gracchus diligentia Corneliae matris a puero doctus et Graecis literis eruditus; nam semper habuit exquisitos e Graecia magistros.”



corrupted in judgment, as with much ado, or never at all, they be brought to the right frame again.

“Yet all men covet to have their children speak Latin, and so do I very earnestly too. We both have one purpose, we agree in desire, we wish one end; but we differ somewhat in order, and way, that leadeth rightly to that end.”

This passage is from the First Book of “The Schoolmaster; or, a plain and perfect Way of teaching Children to understand, write, and speak the Latin Tongue, by Roger Ascham, Esquire, Preceptor to her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. Now corrected and revis’d, with an addition of explanatory Notes, by the Reverend Mr. James Upton, A.M., Rector of Brimpton, in Somersetshire; and late fellow of King’s College, Cambridge.” (London, 1711.)

This passage from Ascham and another which follows have been given here because the book is not very well known, and it seemed best to let Ascham explain his method in his own language. The parts which I have printed are sufficient to show what it is.

It would be thought a great thing if a teacher could accomplish what Ascham here promises; and what, according to his own account, he performed. At present, it cannot be said that children generally do learn either to understand or write the Latin tongue, much less to speak it. The writing and speaking of Latin are indeed not much used, but a great deal of time is spent over trying to understand the Latin tongue and also to write it; and it is generally agreed that few out of many learn to read a Latin author with ease and profit, and fewer still, to write Latin well. To read the Latin authors with profit, it is necessary to know the language, and to understand the matter. The language may be learned by boys to a certain extent, though the perfect knowledge of any language requires the study of mature years. While a boy is learning the Latin language, he may learn something of the matter which his author treats of. In reading Caesar’s Commentaries he will learn something of the geography of Gaul and Italy, something of Roman history and Roman institutions; and in reading Cicero’s Letters and Orations he will learn something more of like matters, though there will be many things which he will not comprehend fully, until he is of riper years. It is plain that as the matter of

an author creates a difficulty, a boy must be first instructed in those authors or parts of authors, which present the fewest difficulties for the matter, and are written in an easy and simple style.

If teachers of Latin knew that language as well as a good teacher of French or of any other modern tongue knows his own language, the matter would be comparatively simple. And yet the usual methods of teaching a foreign language are bad, and the amount that is learned is often small for the time and labour; and this, mainly because teachers of foreign languages follow nearly the same methods that are followed in teaching Latin, many of which are bad. A man may wish to learn a foreign language in order to be able to write it and speak it; but if he follow no other method than reading, he will never accomplish his object. If he will first acquire the power of writing and speaking, he can then proceed to read it with ease. The power of reading or translating a foreign language does not give the power of writing or speaking it, not even in the smallest degree, as all who have tried know by experience. A man may have even a very exact knowledge of a foreign tongue for the purpose of reading and understanding, and yet may be unable to construct a single sentence or to utter a single phrase in conversation; which proves that to learn to express a foreign language in our own tongue is only learning it under one aspect; and that to express our own language or our own ideas in another tongue is quite a different thing. Indeed so different are the two things, that a person may learn by ear to speak a modern language fluently, and yet he may have only a slight knowledge of it; for the language of common conversation is very limited. If he has learned to write the language so as to express himself with ease on the ordinary matters of life, as in a letter or the like, he will have a greater command of the language; but even then, his knowledge will be superficial without a careful study of the best writers.

It is true that the writing of exercises is one of the means now employed for the teaching of modern languages, but the writing of exercises may be an impediment to learning a language. The method of the exercises may be as bad and as ill adapted to the object, as it would be for a man to learn a foreign tongue

by habitual converse with persons who spoke it ill. By such converse a man may certainly learn to speak fluently and ill, as many do<sup>5</sup>. A boy also by writing exercises may learn to write Latin with some facility, and ill; for ease in doing a thing, well or ill, requires practice. Now the "making of Latines" which leads to such a result is one of the ill consequences of teaching, of which Ascham complains in his day; and the same complaint may be made now. Budaeus lamented the ill consequences of the use of speaking Latin unadvisedly; and we may complain of the ill consequences of writing it unadvisedly; for the bad choice of words and the bad order of a boy's early exercises make a deeper impression than the correction of the master, even if we suppose the exercises to be always corrected as they ought to be: and to suppose this would be very extravagant indeed.

There may be several methods of exercises in modern languages, by which a boy may learn to write correctly; but in principle good exercises cannot differ much. A method which has been tried with success, and is founded on a clear principle, is shewn in the late Mr. Wittich's German Exercises, and his German Tales. The exercises begin with principal sentences, or simple propositions, a noun, the verb 'to be,' and an adjective or other predicate. The most necessary words are supplied at the foot of the page. All the forms of simple sentences in the German language are successively presented in the exercises, and by writing these exercises, in which scarcely any error can be made, the learner masters one part and the easiest part of the language, but yet the most important, as being the foundation of all his future knowledge. He then proceeds to the exercises in which subordinate or dependent sentences occur, and when he has written all these, and also the second part of the exercises, he has gone through nearly every form of expression which exists in the language. While he is writing the exercises, he may read the German tales, which are constructed on the same principle as the exercises. A learner who has gone through the

<sup>5</sup> This is the judgment of one of the greatest masters in his art: "*Vere enim etiam illud dicitur, perverse dicere homines perverse dicendo facillime consequi.*" Cic. De Orat. i. 33. What must be the consequence of the 'perverse scribendo?'

exercises and the tales in the manner which the author recommends, is able to write and speak the German language, and to read any easy author. The method requires perseverance, regularity, and some time; but if it is followed as Mr. Wittich directs, any boy of ordinary capacity will have acquired that command over the German language, which very few possess. I do not believe that any system of writing Latin exercises now in use would produce a similar result; and yet it is easier to learn to write Latin, as well as a modern can learn to write it, than to learn to write German<sup>6</sup>.

Latin might be learned in the same way, if a teacher had as great command over it, as a German has over his own language; but this is impossible, and some other way must be attempted. A teacher's knowledge of Latin is solely founded on a few Latin authors, and his own judgment is no authority; he must always appeal to his originals. It is therefore necessary that the Latin language must be learned from Latin authors, who furnish the matter of the language both for the teacher and the learner. The direct object is not to learn to write Latin; it is to be able to read the authors with ease; and the means of accomplishing this must be some method that shall attain the object, and at the same time be a good discipline for the learner. A good discipline has not only the advantage of being good as a discipline, but it will secure the object which we have in view. A bad discipline will generally fail altogether; and those who learn in spite of it, throw away much of their time and labour: they learn much which, as Ascham says, they will afterwards be glad to unlearn.

Ascham's method supposes a certain amount of knowledge, but he does not explain how this is to be acquired. A boy must in some way master the various forms of declension and conjugation. He may do it by committing them to memory and writing out examples on paper. This is a dull and tiresome task;

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Wittich's new method of learning a modern language was first explained by himself in the *Journal of Education*, vol. iv. p. 209. His method is further explained in his "*German for Beginners; or, Progressive Exercises in the German Language*," third edition, London, 1845; and in his "*German Tales*," London, 1845. Mr. Wittich published a *Key to his Exercises*, and also a *German Grammar*.



but the memory of boys is the chief faculty to be used when they are young, and they will get through this labour in a reasonable time. It is however necessary that a teacher should avoid the common error of making boys decline nouns with what are called the signs of the cases; for if this is done, the boy will learn something that he will afterwards have to unlearn; and it is a good principle in teaching, that a child should have no error implanted in him, if we can help it. What is first fixed, whether right or wrong, is very difficult to eradicate. In learning the conjugations also the usual signs or translations should be avoided, as they lead to erroneous notions, particularly in the subjunctive mood. The method adopted in Professor Key's Grammar is that of conjugating the verbs in connexion with some other Latin words, so as to form a short sentence, of which a translation is given. This method is free from all objection; the boy learns the meaning of the tenses in connexion with other words, and at the same time he begins to get a small vocabulary.

As to the eight parts of speech, as Ascham calls them, there is no use in telling a boy the names of a number of things before he sees them. He cannot comprehend what a preposition is till he sees it used. When he learns the forms of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, he will also learn their names, and he may defer learning the names of the other parts of speech till he meets with them.

The next thing to learn according to Ascham, is "the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent," or the three concordances, as he calls them. There is only one way of learning this, which is by examples from Latin authors; and a teacher may find plenty of the simplest sentences in the best Latin authors which will serve this purpose<sup>7</sup>. I say, "in the best Latin authors;" for I would not have the master make them himself. He may select for this purpose as many as he shall think fit, which he must translate to the boy, and he must fully explain every word. He must also translate the sentences in

<sup>7</sup> The first book of Livy will supply abundance of examples; or they may be selected from Cicero with little trouble.

such way that the order of the English words shall correspond to the Latin, as far as the two idioms will allow, which in such simple sentences will generally not be difficult; but when this cannot be done, the teacher must give the meaning of the whole Latin sentence in good plain English, without regarding the difference in the order of the words in the two languages, and he must help the boy in the matter by fully explaining the several words and their relation to one another<sup>8</sup>. If he once lets the boy begin to arrange the Latin words in a new order, he has damaged the foundation of his knowledge, he has introduced him to "a wrong placing of words," which is just as injurious in the teaching of Latin, as if a teacher of French or any modern language should let his pupils neglect the right "placing of words." Two or three sentences at first will be enough for a lesson, on which the boys will be examined by the master, and will parse every word. But this is not all; every boy must learn to give the Latin back orally for the English, and must also write it on paper when the master gives out the English. Thus he will learn it both ways. All that he learns will be true. He will acquire a great number of words, and a knowledge of his three concordances. If the master has done his duty by interpreting the short sentences aright, the boy will have acquired, so far as he has gone, a right choice of words, and a right placing of them. So far, if the work is done well, all is clear gain; and the boy has got nothing that is not worth keeping.

One of the chief difficulties of the Latin language is the right use of the pronouns and the prepositions. Now it is easy to select simple sentences, in which the principal uses of the pro-

<sup>8</sup> As the teacher will have some way of translating, which he will consider to be the right way, it is plain that he must teach the boy what this way is; for the boy knows no way till he has either been taught one by his master, or has found out one for himself, which is more likely to be right than wrong. The picking out of the Latin words and arranging them in the English order, cannot be too much condemned. Those who object to the method here recommended, and would call it taking words in the lump, would do well to remember that there is both a wrong and a right way of taking words in the lump. Those who do not know how to do it must not quarrel with those who do.

nouns and prepositions shall be exemplified; and if the boy is thus made familiar with their use by the examples of the best authors, he will have conquered one of the chief difficulties of the language. A boy who has thus got a pretty good stock of words, a knowledge of the structure of simple sentences, and of the use of the pronouns and prepositions, is ready to proceed upon Ascham's method. It seems a kind of truism to state that a boy can only learn the Latin language from the Latin authors; but if the truth is trite, it is not the less necessary to enforce it, for practically it is disregarded. By Latin authors I mean not scraps or detached sentences, but large consecutive pieces. If a boy could from the first begin, with the teacher's aid, to read a Latin author, he ought to do it: but this is hardly possible, and some preparation of some kind must be made; about the nature of which preparation there may be difference of opinion.

The examination of the forms of the words of a language belongs to that division of grammar, which is called etymology, a term which comprehends both the varieties of form which any given word may undergo, and also the relations of words to other kindred words. A true etymological examination of words leads to a proper classification of them, to a determination of their elementary parts or roots; and by a comparison of the various passages in which they occur, to a determination of their primary and secondary meanings. An examination of the various forms of nouns also leads to a better arrangement of their declensions<sup>9</sup>. By reducing each noun to its crude form, that is, to the form which it has when deprived of the adjuncts of case, the learner perceives what is the true word and what is the accident or modifying part: thus 'lapid' is the true word for 'stone,' of which 'lapis,' 'lapidis,' 'lapidibus,' are the word with its accidents of case. The same remark applies to verbs: 'monē,' is the verbal form, which has its tenses, 'moneo' 'monebam,' 'monebo,' formed by certain additions. The element or root is generally a monosyllable, and sometimes must be traced back through several forms before it can be discovered; as 'tegmentorum' leads to the crude form 'tegmento,' which again leads to 'tegmen;' and a comparison of 'tegmen'

<sup>9</sup> See Professor Key's Latin Grammar.

with 'fragmen,' and other like words, shows that 'teg' is the first element; which again appears in 'toga,' 'tectum,' 'tector,' and other words. This mode of examining the forms of a language is now made part of the education of boys in most schools, where Latin is taught well. It is one of the great aids towards laying a sound knowledge of the structure and meaning of words, and consequently it is essential towards a "right choice of words." The system of crude forms is fully explained in Professor Key's excellent Latin Grammar.

The explaining of the short sentences to the boys may be commenced as soon as they know the forms of the nouns and the verb 'to be;' for numerous sentences may be found in Latin authors, which consist of nothing more than the subject, the verb 'to be,' and a predicate. The boy may be led on to simple sentences containing the verbs of predication, so soon as he has learned the four conjugations; and he may thus be learning something of the structure of a sentence at the same time that he is learning his grammar. This method diminishes the tedium of elementary instruction, while it lays in a good stock of words and of the simple forms of expression; and combined with the exercise of reducing words to their crude forms and roots, and comparing words in which the same root occurs, will furnish some employment for the faculties beyond the exercise of the memory.

As to any other kind of exercises than this here mentioned, there is little to recommend them; and many of these exercises will do a boy much mischief<sup>1</sup>. What has the boy to learn except the Latin tongue? and how is he to learn it except from a Latin author? All that he thus learns is a part of the language, a small part it is true; but still a part of the language; and he learns it without any admixture of error. There is a truth little observed and less practised, which Ascham reminds us of: "All languages, both learned and mother tongues, be gotten, and gotten only by imitation: for as ye use to hear, so ye learn to speak: if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself;

<sup>1</sup> Exercise books are very numerous, and of very different degrees of merit. Some are very bad. There is a good system of exercises, entitled, "Constructive Exercises for teaching the Elements of the Latin Language on a System of Analysis and Synthesis," by John Robson.



and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn." That which is true of a living language is true of a dead one, of "the Greek and Latin tongues, the only two learned tongues, which be kept not in common talk, but in private books." (Ascham.) A boy who learns no Latin except good Latin, will know no other. For this reason we would avoid the use of any rules written in Latin, many of which contain barbarous expressions; and though some of these rules may be well enough in point of expression, it is pure waste of time to fill a boy's head with modern Latin, when there is so much better matter at hand to fill it with.

It is here urged that a boy should have none but the plainest sentences, containing the simple proposition, laid before him, or two such sentences united by a conjunction, until he has obtained a good stock of words, and has fully mastered all these simple sentences so as to render the Latin into the English or the English into the Latin indifferently. Above all, let the teacher beware of perplexing him with subordinate or dependent sentences, until this part is fully mastered. The sentences on which he must be exercised should only contain the indicative mood; but there are some sentences which contain only indicative moods which must be excluded from this part of his discipline. How long it may take to do what is here proposed, will depend on the diligence and ability of the master; but it will not be a work of very long time; nor so irksome as the common method.

I have elsewhere suggested that when the pupil has got this necessary knowledge, the master may begin to explain to him the third book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which contains little more than simple propositions. The learning of this or any other easy book will supply the boy with a large stock of words, the first necessity that he has. The master must explain each lesson fully to the boy, who will afterwards be examined in it, and required to give orally or to write on paper the Latin for any word or any phrase in the lesson that the master may give out in English; and when the lesson is well understood, the boy must commit it to memory<sup>2</sup>. When the whole book is read

<sup>2</sup> No method is so efficient towards mastering a language as to commit to memory passages from good authors. Cicero's recommendation was founded

in this manner, the boy will be able to read it over again without the previous explanation of the master, and with a little help while he is saying the lesson. Nor must the master chide him, if he is diligent and does his best, even if he fail sometimes. "If your scholar," says Ascham, "do miss sometimes, chide not hastily, for that shall both dull his wit and discourage his diligence; but monish him gently, which shall make him both willing to amend and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning. I have now wished twice or thrice this gentle nature to be in a schoolmaster. And that I have done so, neither by chance nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why in mine opinion, love is fitter than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning." And so he goes on to argue in favour of gentleness in teaching, and to discourse against harsh chiding and beating, premising however, as I would do, to prevent mistake, that "I do gladly agree with all good schoolmasters in these points: to have children brought to good perfectness in learning, to all honesty in manners; to have all faults rightly amended; to have every vice severely corrected: but for the order and way that leadeth rightly to these points we somewhat differ." (Ascham.)

It is the fashion in this country for boys to write Latin verses at a very early age, to which, if the method be well conducted, there is not the same objection as there is to their writing Latin prose. The third book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, if well learned, will teach the boy the structure of a Latin hexameter, and will give him a fair stock of words. The practice of repeating the same aloud will form his ear to the verse, so that if the master shall select easy hexameter lines out of Ovid, plainly turned into English, and now and then supply a word, a boy will easily restore the original hexameter, which generally is and always should be nothing more than a simple proposition with some poetical embellishment. There is no objection to this sort of exercise, when it is at first limited, as it is almost necessarily, to the forms of simple sentences.

We now suppose the boy far enough advanced to proceed on Ascham's method, which requires little comment. The master on his own practice: "*Exercenda est etiam memoria ediscendis ad verbum quam plurimis et nostris scriptis et alienis.*" Cicero, *De Orat.* i. 34.

must "read unto him" the Latin author: the boy must not be set to learn his lesson by the aid of a dictionary. Ascham mentions no dictionary: possibly there was not one at that time, which was suited to boys: and it would be much better if there were none at present to put into boys' hands, when we consider what they are. A good dictionary is a necessary help, when the boy has made some progress; and the master wants it too. A bad one, used from the beginning, is an insuperable impediment to learning.

There are many of Cicero's epistles to his different friends, which are well adapted to the capacity of boys; and Sturmius did good service in selecting such for the capacity of children. But the teacher must explain the letters first, as Ascham directs; or he may take Caesar's Gallic war, but let him at first omit the speeches. It is the teacher's business to explain such an author to the boys: it is not his business to hear how they have misunderstood it after hard labour with the dictionary. In old times the teachers taught; now it is a common practice to let boys learn wrong, in order that they may be set right. But boys keep in their head more of their own blundering than of the master's correction; and so they learn much that they must afterwards unlearn. Let then the teacher expound the lesson fully to a boy, leading him to a right choice of English words, and a correct arrangement of them, avoiding all transposition of the Latin in translating, and taking it portion by portion, as it hangs together in the original, a clear, compact, and consistent whole. He will have to say much on the several words for the full explanation of them; but each integral part of a sentence must be translated as a whole; and the difficulty that a boy may have about the several words and their order must be removed by careful parsing and explanation. The Latin text is the matter which the teacher has to work upon: and it is not thoroughly mastered until the boy can render the Latin into English, or give the Latin for the English indifferently. A careful teacher may add something to Ascham's method, or slightly modify it; but the principle must remain; which is this: that the boy shall learn to construct Latin sentences by a careful study of them in a Latin author, by the remarks of his master, and by the imitation of them in rendering the English

back again into Latin. It will be useful also now that he proceeds to the consideration of subordinate or dependent sentences, as he must do, when he comes to read Caesar or Cicero, for the boy to have a good grammar to refer to, in which some of the most important rules are clearly laid down, or even a good exercise book. It is enough to remark that many of the grammars in ordinary use will not serve this purpose.

The more exact knowledge of the Latin tongue is acquired by a careful reading of the best writers, by which alone can be learned a right choice of words, a right placing of them<sup>3</sup>, and a right framing of a sentence. How absurd it is to expect boys to learn the right framing of a Latin sentence by the ordinary system of exercises, when they can hardly frame one in their own language correctly. Boys begin Latin very early, and so early that it is necessary for them to learn as much as can be learned of the language in the way that is nearest to the best mode of learning a modern language, that is, by imitation. As they advance in years and in understanding under the care of a good teacher, they begin to examine it critically. It is quite possible for a young boy to acquire a considerable facility in the Latin language, before he is able to examine the construction of a sentence with much nicety. Indeed if we consider the early age at which Latin is begun, the great waste of time and the hateful nature of the labour, on the common system, it would seem to be a better thing for him to learn a modern language first. If a good French master were to teach the younger boys French on a proper system for a couple of years, they would speak it with facility, write it as well as young boys can write a language, and be better prepared for the study of Latin. A boy who begins Latin at the age of ten, if he has been well

<sup>3</sup> A singular method of teaching the right placing of words is used in Ellis's Latin Exercises, and thus explained in the preface: "The Second Part contains the principal rules of syntax, with short examples to them, the Latin words to which correspond in their arrangement with the English; with an intention that the scholar should, under his master's direction, endeavour gradually to place them in the Latin order." He is to be accustomed to what is wrong, and must gradually endeavour to correct his error; and by a like reason, he must be accustomed to any other bad habit, and must gradually endeavour to correct it.



prepared, will be able to understand Caesar in a year, if it is explained on Ascham's plan.

It may be said that this system requires better teachers than the great majority of those who profess to teach. But if a teacher has not knowledge enough to teach on this plan or some good plan, can he teach on a bad one? Can he teach by the aid of bad exercise books and indifferent helps of all descriptions, and in no other way? If he cannot teach on Ascham's plan or on some good plan, he cannot teach at all. If it should be said, that this method is more troublesome to the teacher, which I deny, the answer is that he ought to do what he professes. Whether would a man of any sound knowledge, of any taste for learning, however small, rather work at this dull, eternal, unprofitable round of exercises, aids, and helps, or work at the authors themselves, the sole sources of our knowledge? On the score of economy of time and economy of expense much might be said. At present a boy is loaded with a heap of books, and his parents are saddled with expense for lumber which hangs like a load of lead on the boy's understanding, if he has any, and if he has not much, makes him a dunce for life. His labour is not about Latin: it is all about books, which are about Latin. A good course of Latin instruction is cheap: it requires few books. It requires a good master; and those who would have him must pay him well; for he will do what he professes, and save expense in other ways. The boy shall leave his master in utter ignorance of the Hormans and Whittingtons of the day, but well acquainted with Caesar, Cicero, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and a few other Romans, whom he will be better pleased to remember than exercise books.

Mr. Wittich, in his remarks on the teaching of German, insists on the great importance of the pupil reading aloud his exercises, when they are corrected, and reading aloud the German tales several times. There is no doubt about the advantage of this system; but it will of course only be practised by more advanced students, who are bent upon learning. Boys will do very little that they are not required to do. Still it will be a very useful exercise to require the boys, when they have thoroughly mastered a Latin lesson, to read over the Latin aloud and with proper emphasis, so that the master may judge whether they fully

understand the lesson as they read it. Indeed it is not too much to require of boys, who have gone once through the first book of Caesar's Gallic War, to commit to memory ten or a dozen chapters, so as to be able to deliver them orally without any fault. Such a practice, combined with the remarks of the master on the order of the words in the daily lessons, will form the ear of the boy to a right order, and lay the foundation of a sound knowledge of the form of a sentence. However much boys may fail, under the usual system, in the right construction of a sentence and the ordering of words, it is certain that they may attain a great proficiency in both by this practice, simply by the exercise of the ear; and they may become tolerably expert in this part of the language before they have attained a correspondent skill in the right choice of words, at least of any other than the ordinary words. For the perfect choice of right words only comes with riper years and much careful reading; as any may convince himself by a little consideration. The proper choice of words to denote abstract terms and terms of art is learned slowly and with much labour. In fact it is the part of a language which is learned last.

If we consider the power which the Latin language has in varying the order of words in a sentence, so as to express by the same words, differently placed, different shades of meaning, we must admit that the order of the words is as much a matter of careful observation from the first, as any thing else. What would be thought of a German teacher who should not from the first make his pupil observe the difference between the English and the German order? Or we may take another example from the Italian language, which has retained all the force and vigour of the Latin, and acquired powers unknown even to the parent tongue. Biagioli in his Italian Grammar has given a good example of an expression which can be varied seven different ways, each of which has a different meaning. It is this: *Rendo me a voi; A voi rendo me; Mi rendo a voi; Rendomì a voi; A voi mi rendo; Vi rendo me; Rendomivi.* All these expressions have a different and very distinct meaning<sup>4</sup>. The Latin is not capable of so much variety; but in a like sentence

<sup>4</sup> Biagioli, *Grammaire Italienne*, p. 58. Paris, 1808.

the relative position of 'tibi,' 'me,' and 'do,' may be varied, and must be varied in order to express like shades of meaning.

I have already mentioned Mr. Robson's exercise book, which is a work of great merit, and, as it seems to me, may be used by those who like myself do not adopt his principle of teaching the elementary part of the Latin language by writing exercises. I would use the exercises after the boy had made some progress in reading. The system of constructive exercises implies the necessity for many rules, which the boy has to learn. I would have a boy learn as few rules as possible, but be referred to as many good rules as are necessary, when the occasion for them arises in the course of his reading. In other words, in teaching boys a language, I would never, so far as is possible, make a rule my point of departure; but the rule, that is, the generalization, should be the point towards which I would lead them; and lead them by examples, and in no other way.

These remarks were made before I saw the second edition of Mr. Robson's book, which has just appeared. This edition, besides some other improvements, contains a series of Latin reading lessons, well adapted for the use of beginners. In its present form the work appears, according to my views, to be very well fitted to serve as an introduction to the reading of a good Latin prose author; and better than anything of the kind that I have seen.

I believe that a boy, who is taught on Mr. Robson's method, would be taught well. His direct object is not to teach a young boy to write Latin, but to give him the knowledge, which he must get in some way, before he can commence reading a Latin author. For it is agreed among all sensible teachers, that a boy should read some good Latin author as soon as he can; Caesar for instance, or parts of Cicero. But it is not agreed which is the easiest and surest method of giving a boy the knowledge which is necessary to enable him to read. I believe the best method is not by writing Latin exercises only, even if the exercises are the best that can be made: and the reasons for this opinion, such as they are, may be collected from various parts of this preface; to which I could add others, if the object were to write a dissertation. To make the writing of Latin, especially for young boys, a direct and immediate object, is one of the

gross absurdities of modern teaching, only exceeded by the grossness of the material, which is produced and called Latin prose. As I have explained, I would make a boy learn his Latin author both ways, from Latin into English and from English and Latin, in order that he may know both sides of it. In this way he will acquire a considerable facility of rendering English into Latin, without acquiring a facility in writing bad Latin, which, according to Ellis' ingenious plan, he must acquire for the pleasure of afterwards getting rid of it. I reject altogether the notion of teaching a boy any Latin independent of the book that he is studying. Instead of mastering his author fully and completely, he is busy about the making of 'Latines;' and the more he makes, in the worse plight he is; while the author from whom he ought to learn the language, and whom he should master so as never to forget, occupies less of his time than his own bad Latin. The clear, direct way to an improvement in our classical studies is to abandon the ordinary making of 'Latines;' to adopt Ascham's plan as soon as the boy is prepared for it, and to consider well how he should be so prepared; for that is really the only matter in dispute among good teachers. Further, to abandon all books of exercises which abound in multitudinous rules and fragmentary exercises; to choose as a book of rules to refer a boy to (for I do not reject generalizations, but only the mode of using them), which are as plain and simple as may be, with plenty of good examples, whether such book be a grammar or some well arranged system of rules with both examples and exercises; and as to the endless niceties and curiosities of a language, to trust to careful reading and a good teacher, for they cannot be learned by rules. If I recommend Ascham's method, it is not simply in order that boys may learn to write Latin; it is in order that they may learn to read it and understand a Latin author well. But at the same time, I shall observe, by way of meeting the objection of those who are so mightily concerned about young boys learning to write Latin, as if the thing were possible, that I expect a pupil, who has been trained in the way which I suggest, and has been saved from the exercise system, though he is not professing to learn to write Latin, to write it better than the boy who has been learning to write bad Latin: and if a pupil so trained, as it is here recom-



mended, chooses to use his own diligence, when he has attained proper years, he shall with reasonable pains write Latin with ease, as well as it can be written now-a-days. For I maintain that the writing of Latin well, if that is the object proposed, can only be attained by a student who has already made considerable progress in the language, and has reached to years of understanding; and that the exercise system generally, so far from preparing him to write Latin, is a direct obstacle to the acquisition of this power. But let us return to Ascham.

The following passage is from the second book of the Schoolmaster :

“ After that your scholar, as I said before, shall come indeed, first to a ready perfectness in translating, then to a ripe and skilful choice in marking out his six<sup>5</sup> points ; as,

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Proprium.   | 4. Contrarium. |
| 2. Translatum. | 5. Diversum.   |
| 3. Synonymum.  | 6. Phrases.    |

Then take this order with him : read daily unto him some book of Tully, as the third book of Epistles, chosen out by Sturmius, De Amicitia, De Senectute, or that excellent epistle containing almost the whole first book Ad Q. Fratrem ; some comedy of Terence or Plautus. But in Plautus skilful choice must be used by the master, to train his scholar to a judgment in cutting out perfectly over-old and improper words. Caesar's Commentaries are to be read with all curiosity, wherein especially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue, even when it was, as the Grecians say, in ἀκμῇ, that is at the highest pitch of all perfectness ; or some orations of T. Livius, such as be both longest and plainest.

“ These books I would have him read now, a good deal at every lecture ; for he shall not now use daily translation, but only construe again, and parse, where ye suspect is any need : yet let him not omit in these books his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writing orderly out of his six points ;

<sup>5</sup> Those who wish to know what Ascham means by his six points must consult the first part of the Schoolmaster. This part of his system seems to be of little or no value.

and for translating, use you yourself every second or third day to chuse out some Epistle ad Atticum, some notable common place out of his orations, or some other part of Tully by your discretion, which your scholar may not know where to find; and translate it you yourself into plain natural English, and then give it him to translate into Latin again, allowing him good space and time to do it both with diligent heed and good advisement.

“Here his wit shall be new set on work; his judgment, for right choice, truely tried; his memory for sure retaining, better exercised, than by learning any thing without the book; and here how much he hath profited, shall plainly appear. When he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of Tully; lay them together, compare the one with the other; commend his good choice and right placing of words; show his faults gently, but blame them not over sharply; for of such missings, gently admonished of, proceedeth glad and good heed-taking; of good heed-taking springeth chiefly knowledge, which after groweth to perfectness, if this order be diligently used by the scholar, and gently handled by the master. For here shall all the hard points of grammar, both easily and surely be learned up; which scholars in common schools, by making of Latines, be groping at with care, and fear, and yet in many years they scarce can reach unto them<sup>6</sup>.

“I remember, when I was young, in the north they went to the grammar school little children; they came from thence great lubbers, always learning, and little profiting; learning without<sup>7</sup> book every thing, understanding within the book little

<sup>6</sup> There is no difficulty in doing this with a class. The master looks over the exercise, and marks the errors, which he does not further correct. Then he takes the original in his hand, and reads it over slowly sentence by sentence, remarking on any prevalent errors, and commenting on any peculiarity in the sentence. The boys take down the Latin on paper, which is itself a good exercise, and when it is done he calls on one or two at hazard to read it out aloud. The boys are recommended to read it over afterwards two or three times. All will not follow the recommendation; but some will.

<sup>7</sup> Without book clearly means learning in some other book than the book out of which alone they can learn, the author. Working at Ellis's Exercises is learning “without book,” or “great toil without order.”

or nothing. Their whole knowledge by learning without the book, was tied only to their tongue and lips, and never ascended to the brain and head; and therefore was soon spit out of the mouth again. They were as men always going, but ever out of the way. And why? For their whole labour; or rather great toil without order, was even vain idleness without profit. Indeed they took great pains about learning, but employed small labour in learning; when by this way prescribed in this book, being straight, plain, and easy, the scholar is always labouring with pleasure, and ever going right on forward with profit. Always labouring I say; for, or he have construed, parsed, twice translated over by good advisement, marked out his six points by skilful judgment, he shall have necessary occasion to read over every lecture a dozen times at the least. Which because he shall do always in order, he shall do it always with pleasure. ‘And pleasure allureth love, love hath lust to labour, labour always obtaineth his purpose;’ as most truly both Aristotle in his Rhetorick, and Oedipus in Sophocles do teach, saying τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον ἀλωτόν. And this oft reading is the very right following of that good council which Pliny doth give to his friend Fuscus, saying, ‘Multum, non multa<sup>8</sup>.’ But to my purpose again.

“When by this diligent, and speedy reading over those fore-named good books of Tully, Terence, Caesar, and Livy, and by this second kind of translating out of your English, time shall breed skill, and use shall bring perfection: then ye may try, if ye will, your scholar with the third kind of translation: although the two first ways, by mine opinion, be not only sufficient of themselves, but also surer, both for the master’s teaching, and scholar’s learning, than this third way is; which is thus:

“Write you in English some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other friend, naturally, according to the disposition of the child; or some tale, or fable, or plain narration, according as Aphthonius<sup>9</sup> beginneth his exercises of learning, and let him translate it into Latin again, abiding in such place, where no other scholar may prompt him. But yet use you

<sup>8</sup> Plinius Secundus, Ep. vii. 9.

<sup>9</sup> A book much used in former days.

yourself such discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compass, both for words and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heed, lest your scholar do not better in some point than you yourself, except ye have been diligently exercised in these kinds of translating before.

“I had once a proof hereof, tried by good experience, by a dear friend of mine, when I came first from Cambridge to serve the Queen’s Majesty, then Lady Elizabeth, lying at worthy Sir Antony Deny’s, in Cheston. John Whitney, a young gentleman, was my bedfellow; who willing by good nature, and provoked by mine advice, began to learn the Latin tongue, after the order declared in this book. We began after Christmas; I read unto him Tully De Amicitia, which he did every day twice translate, out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin again. About St. Laurence Tide after, to prove how he profited, I did chuse out Torquatus’ talk de Amicitia, in the latter end of the first book De Finibus; because that place was the same in matter, like in words and phrases, nigh to the form and fashion of sentences, as he had learned before in De Amicitia. I did translate it myself into plain English, and gave it him to turn into Latin; which he did so choicely, so orderly, so without any great miss in the hardest points of grammar, that some in seven years in grammar schools, yea, and some in the University too, cannot do half so well. This worthy young gentleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole house, and specially to that most noble lady, now Queen Elizabeth herself, departed within few days out of this world.————

“In this place, or I proceed further, I will now declare by whose authority I am led, and by what reason I am moved to think, that this way of double translation out of one tongue into another, is either only, or at least chiefly to be exercised, specially of youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tongue.————

“Translation is easy in the beginning for the scholar, and bringeth also much learning and great judgment to the master. It is most common, and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common; for all your constructions in grammar schools be nothing else but translation: but because they be not double translations, (as I do require,) they bring forth but simple



and single commodity; and because also they lack the daily use of writing, which is the only thing that breedeth deep root, both in the wit, for good understanding, and in the memory, for sure keeping of all that is learned: most commendable also, and that by the judgment of all authors, which intreat of these exercises. Tully, in the person of L. Crassus, (whom he maketh his example of eloquence and true judgment in learning,) doth not only praise specially, and chuse this way of translation for a young man, but doth also discommend<sup>1</sup> and refuse his own former wont in exercising paraphrasin and metaphrasin. Paraphrasis is to take some eloquent oration, or some notable common place in Latin, and express it with other words: metaphrasis is to take some notable place out of a good poet, and turn the same sense into metre, or into other words in prose. Crassus, or rather Tully, doth mislike both these ways; because the author, either orator or poet, had chosen out before the fittest words, and aptest composition for that matter; and so he, in seeking other, was driven to use the worse.

“Quintilian<sup>2</sup> also preferreth translation before all other exercises; yet having a lust to dissent from Tully (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his Rhetorick over advisedly; and that rather of an envious mind, than of any just cause) doth greatly commend paraphrasis, crossing spitefully Tully’s judgment in refusing the same; and so do Ramus, and Tallæus even at this day in France too. But such singularity in dissenting from the best men’s judgment, in liking only their own opinions, is much misliked of all them, that join with learning, discretion, and wisdom.—Plinius Secundus, a wise senator of great experience, excellently learned himself, a liberal patron of learned men, and the purest writer, in mine opinion, of all his age (I except not Suetonius, his two schoolmasters, Quintilian and Tacitus, nor yet his most excellent learned uncle, the elder Plinius) doth express in an epistle to his friend Fuscus (vii. 9), many good ways for order in study; but he beginneth with translation, and preferreth it before all the rest. And because

<sup>1</sup> De Oratore, i. 34. “Sed post animadverti,” &c.

<sup>2</sup> Quintilian, Inst. Or. x. 5, remarks that the old orators thought it a good practice to translate from Greek into Latin: “vertere Graeca in Latinum, &c. Sed et illa ex Latinis conversio,” &c.

his words be notable, I will recite them: 'Utile in primis, et multi praecepiunt, vel ex Graeco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum, quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, copia figurarum, vis explicandi, praeterea imitatione optimorum similia inveniendi facultas paratur; simul legentem quae fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc et iudicium acquiritur<sup>3</sup>.'

"Ye perceive how Pliny teacheth, that by this exercise of double translating, is learned easily, sensibly, by little and little, not only all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of aptest words, the right framing of words, and sentences, comeliness of figures, and forms fit for every matter, and proper for every tongue: but that which is greater also, in marking daily, and following diligently thus the steps of the best authors, like invention of arguments, like order in disposition, like utterance in elocution is easily gathered up; whereby your scholar shall be brought not only to like eloquence, but also to all true understanding and right judgment, both for writing and speaking. And where Dionysius Halicarnassaeus hath written two excellent books, the one *De Delectu Optimorum Verborum*, (the which, I fear, is lost,) the other, of the right framing of words and sentences, which doth remain yet in Greek, to the great profit of all them, that truly study eloquence: yet this way of double translating, shall bring the whole profit of both these books to a diligent scholar, and that easily and pleasantly, both for fit choice of words, and apt composition of sentences.

"And by these authorities and reasons am I moved to think this way of double translating, either only, or chiefly, to be fittest for the speedy and perfect attaining of any tongue. And for speedy attaining, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholar, in whom is aptness, love, diligence, and constancy,

<sup>3</sup> Ascham, as Mr. Upton remarks, does not give this passage exactly as it stands in Pliny, and he suggests that he trusted to his memory. There is a curious difference in the first part of the passage as quoted by Ascham: "Utile in primis, ut multi praecepiunt, ex Graeco in Latinum et ex Latino vertere in Graecum." Pliny certainly does not in plain terms recommend double translation; but a translation from a Latin author by a Roman into Greek would clearly be an exercise of little use, unless the translator had a Greek original to compare his translation with.

would but translate after this sort, one little book in Tully (as De Senectute, with two Epistles, the first, Ad Q. Fratrem, the other, Ad Lentulum, the last save one in the first book) that scholar, I say, should come to a better knowledge in the Latin tongue, than the most part do, that spend four or five years in tossing all the rules of grammar in common schools. Indeed this one book with these two epistles is not sufficient to afford all Latin words (which is not necessary for a young scholar to know) but it is able to furnish him fully, for all points of grammar, with the right placing, ordering, and use of words, in all kind of matter. And why not? For it is read, that Dion Prussaeus, that wise philosopher, and excellent oratour of all his time, did come to the great learning and utterance that was in him, by reading, and following only two books, Phaeton Platonis, and Demosthenes' most notable oration *περὶ παραπρεσβείας*.

“And a better and nearer example herein may be, our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand, after the first declining of a noun and a verb; but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates, daily, without missing, every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such a judgment, as they be few in number in both the Universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with her Majesty<sup>4</sup>. And to conclude in a short room the commodities of double translation; surely the mind by daily marking, first, the cause and matter; then, the words and phrases, next the order and composition; after, the reason and arguments; then, the forms and figures of both the tongues; lastly, the measure and compass of every sentence, must needs, by little and little, draw unto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth use, which is read. And thus much for double translation.”

The parts of Cicero which this volume contains have been

<sup>4</sup> To this effect is the testimony of Henry Savile in his well written Latin oration pronounced before Elizabeth at Oxford in 1592. His language is panegyric, but not extravagant; and his evidence to the queen's facility in Greek and Latin is most precise.

selected for the purpose either of using them after the method which Ascham recommends, or merely for the purpose of reading them in the usual way, if any teacher prefers it. The text is that of Orelli, which has always been followed except in the few instances where a variation is mentioned in the notes. If an editor had a full collation of the MSS. before him, he would deviate further than I have done from the text of Orelli, who has not given all the various readings which an editor would require, if his object were to establish the text according to his own judgment. The text of Ernesti, which has hitherto been generally used in this country, is often bad; and numerous errors in the position of words may be easily detected in it by any person whose ear is formed to a right ordering of words. The punctuation of Latin books is difficult, and it is impossible to lay down any general rules. The fault of the common punctuation is that an author is overloaded with stops, and words which are closely connected in sense are often separated in such a manner that a learner does not see the connexion. But when a man begins to strike out the points, he will often find that when he has got rid of one, he must get rid of another, and then a third, so that many short sentences will remain without any point; which however is no disadvantage, but the contrary. A short sentence seldom requires any points. In the longer sentences it is necessary to place some points to mark the chief pauses, which would be made in reading or pronouncing them; but they need not be many. Such words for instance as 'is' and 'qui,' when they come together, ought not to be separated; nor, as a general rule, ought such dependent clauses as commence with 'ut,' to be separated from what goes before. It may be objected to the punctuation of this book, that it is not always consistent, and the objection may be true; but I see no hope of making the construction of Latin sentences intelligible, so long as they are fenced in with so many obstacles, and I have preferred occasional inconsistency, or apparent inconsistency, to the usual system of punctuation, which itself has not the merit of consistency.

Whatever fault may be found with the punctuation of this book, I affirm that on the whole a diligent boy will understand Cicero better, as I have pointed the text, than if he reads it in the point-belaboured editions which are commonly used. He will



not fail in many cases to see the relation of words to one another which in the ordinary texts is disjointed by perplexing points.

The notes are mainly intended to explain the language. I have attempted to explain the meaning and use of a few single words, which are either difficult or sometimes misunderstood; the right placing of some words, which it is important to observe; and the usage of those words, which chiefly serve to connect the subordinate or dependent with the principal sentences. I have not attempted to give reasons for certain usages or forms of expression, for such reasons are generally very insufficient; but I have attempted to show the logical structure of the sentence. Those who have not been used to a critical study of Latin, may perhaps be led to see how far a careful study and comparison of a small portion of one author, and that the best in the Latin language, will enable a student to master all the ordinary forms of expression and to construct a sentence with accuracy. A person will scarcely believe till he has tried the experiment, how much of the language is contained in a single treatise, such as the *De Senectute*. This small treatise alone, if thoroughly mastered on Ascham's plan, would make a man a good Latin scholar. There are indeed many things, which it does not teach him; but those are either rare and peculiar expressions, or words which have a technical character, and belong to matters of constitutional history, law, natural history, and the like. A full and exact knowledge of all or even of the greater part of such words can only be learned by much reading; and even some of the primary significations and nicer meanings of words in ordinary use can only be acquired by the student when he is of riper years. But for a knowledge of the ordinary words of the Latin language, their meanings, and the structure of a sentence, a small portion of an author is sufficient; nor can the Latin language be learned well, unless the foundation is laid in some small, select portion of a good author or two. When facility of reading Latin has been obtained by a proper discipline, a boy may read as much as the time will allow, and he may direct his attention to the matter of the language as well as to the language itself. But it is a great error, towards which there seems to be some tendency at present, to introduce a boy to any author or part of an author, where the matter is difficult,

before he has acquired a considerable facility in the language; nor is it any answer to this objection that he may be helped with notes and books of reference. Notes cannot in any reasonable space explain every thing; and indeed they ought to be chiefly designed for advanced students and teachers; they should rather instruct by suggesting what a learner should look at, than by aiming at complete exposition. As to making a boy use many books of reference, either for matter geographical, historical, or any other matter that requires explanation, there is great risk that he shall fall into the habit of reading about his author or the matter that is in him, instead of studying the author himself. It is the teacher's business to supply all necessary explanation for beginners; and for this reason, notes are not required for young boys. As already suggested, what I have done in these notes, has been done with the view of aiding teachers and more advanced students, rather than for very young scholars. The reason why I have explained the use of particular words chiefly by reference to similar usages in the passages here selected, is obvious. If a small portion of Cicero, well learned, is sufficient to lay the foundation of a good knowledge of the Latin language, it is necessary to show that every particular usage, which is an essential part of the language, may be explained by like examples drawn from this small portion.

In selecting matter for notes which must be of limited extent, there is no rule that can be laid down. The object is to help the reader to understand the author; but some readers require help, when others do not. Where there is a palpable difficulty, there should be a note. In other cases, the commentator must be guided by a certain tact and feeling, which combined with experience as a teacher will enable him to make such remarks, and give such hints and suggestions as may be useful, though they may not be all that could be wished.

I would suggest that of all the pieces in this book the *De Amicitia* should be read last, for the reasons stated in the introduction to this Dialogue. The first book of Letters is intended for young students, to make them familiar with the ordinary epistolary style of the Latin language. They should be learned so thoroughly that a boy should know every form of expression in them. As to the matter, it will cause little difficulty; and

the teacher's explanation and my few notes will be enough for that purpose. The shorter letters of Cicero, those written in a careless manner, as one may say, are a good introduction to Terence, for they come near to the style of conversation. The second book of Letters, which contains longer and more elaborate epistles, is adapted for those who have made more proficiency. The long letter to Quintus, being more in the oratorical style, will serve as an introduction to the orations of Cicero. The prose language of the Romans should be learned from Caesar, Terence, and the easier parts of Cicero, which will furnish ample material for the first few years of a student's course. The reading of other writers and of Cicero's Orations should be deferred till the pupil has mastered the Latin language well in those portions of it where it appears in the purest and simplest form, and encumbered with few difficulties of matter or substance.

BRIGHTON COLLEGE,  
May, 1850.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of spontaneous generation. This theory is based on the fact that life is a complex of many different parts, and that these parts are all found in the same place. The author also discusses the theory of evolution, and shows that it is based on the fact that life is a process of change. The author concludes that the origin of life is a problem that is still open, and that it is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation. The author shows that this theory is based on the fact that life is a complex of many different parts, and that these parts are all found in the same place. The author also shows that the theory of spontaneous generation is based on the fact that life is a process of change. The author concludes that the origin of life is a problem that is still open, and that it is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science.

## CATO MAJOR.

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CICERO wrote his treatise *De Senectute*, or on Old Age, in his sixty-third year, in B.C. 44, perhaps after the assassination of Caesar. In the troubled period which followed Caesar's death Cicero's literary activity was unremitting. He sought in philosophical pursuits for the peace of mind which he could not find either at home or abroad. This work derives its title from Cato the Elder, or Censorius, who died B.C. 149. He is here introduced in his 84th year (B.C. 150<sup>1</sup>) discoursing on old age with P. Scipio Africanus the Younger, and C. Laelius, the friend of Scipio. The *Cato Major* is addressed to Titus Pomponius Atticus, who was three years older than his friend Cicero, and derived from the perusal of this little treatise the consolation (Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, xvi. 3, and 11), which the author himself could not, though it gave him relief to write it (*Ad Atticum*, xiv. 21). "Old age," says Cicero, "has embittered me—my life is spent." The treatise has little of the character of a dialogue, for the two speakers, Scipio and Laelius, do little more than prompt Cato to give them a discourse. The considerations which are urged against the common notion, that old age is miserable, appear not to be so much derived from Cicero's own experience, as from the works of his favourite Plato, Aristo of Chios, who had written on old age, and other Greek writers. The argument is stated so clearly that it requires little

<sup>1</sup> In the consulship of T. Quinctius Flamininus and M'. Acilius Balbus. *De Sen.* 5.



explanation. The ease and agreeable manner in which the matter is handled merit the highest praise; and there are few persons, especially those of mature years, who have read this treatise once, and would not wish to read it again. The apology for Old Age, as it may be called, is a complete argument, for a Roman of the republican period. Some poor objections have been urged against it, and a note or two is added to meet some of them.

The notes are short, as they must be in a book of moderate size. Nor is there perhaps any advantage in such copious commentaries as some editions of classical authors are rather encumbered with than lightened. Some authors which are very difficult, and are read only by ripe scholars, may bear a heavy weight of notes. The general purpose of this edition has been explained in the preface. The notes are chiefly intended to assist students of the Latin language who have made some progress, and teachers who may not have had the best opportunities of education. Their object is to explain the text, as far as they go; not to explain every thing. I have used the notes in the Variorum edition, and the commentary of A. Manutius. I have referred to Forcellini's Lexicon, and to Professor Key's Latin Grammar. As to the time when the treatise was written, see Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, vi. 350).

M. TULLII CICERONIS

## CATO MAJOR SIVE DE SENECTUTE

AD

T. POMPONII ATTICI.

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I. 1. O Tite, si quid ego adjûro curamve levasso  
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,  
Ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem affari te, Attice, quibus  
affatur Flaminium

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenu' fidei.

Quamquam certo scio, non, ut Flaminium,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque.

Novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque  
non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse sed humanitatem

1. *O Tite,*] These verses are from Ennius, who is addressing T. Quinctius Flamininus, the conqueror of Philip V., king of Macedonia, B. C. 197. The life of Flamininus is written by Plutarch.

*Levasso,*] A form equivalent to 'levavero.' But the original ending of the future perfect of the indicative seems to have been 'eso;' and accordingly the form would be 'levaveso,' which is as easily shortened to 'levaso,' as 'levavero' is to 'levaro.' The second 's' in 'levasso' is superfluous.

*Ille vir*] He means Ennius, a Greek, a native of Rudiae in

Calabria, and the father of Roman epic poetry. Ennius was born B.C. 239. He became acquainted with Cato probably while Cato was praetor of Sardinia. There is an edition of the fragments of Ennius by F. Hessel, Amsterdam, 4to, 1707.

*Fidei.*] The penultima of the genitives of the fifth declension was originally long, but in prose it is usual to pronounce it short, unless the vowel 'i' precedes it. (Key's Grammar, p. 16.) The elision of the 's' before a consonant, as in 'plenus,' occurs frequently in Lucretius.

*Cognomen*] His cognomen of Atticus; for among other accom-

et prudentiam intelligo. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus meipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et major est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. 2. Hoc enim onere quod mihi commune tecum est aut jam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et meipsum levare volo: etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, quum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et jucundam senectutem. Nunquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere. 3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus: hunc librum de senectute ad te

plishments Cicero's friend "sic Graece loquebatur ut Athenis natus videretur." Nepos, *Life of Atticus*, c. 4.

*Quarum consolatio*] Cicero perhaps alludes to the troubles that followed Caesar's death.

*Levari volo* :] 'Volo' does not simply express a wish: in the indicative it rather indicates 'opinion,' 'will,' and frequently something approaching to resolve and command. In this case it means: "I would have both you and myself eased of this burden." Compare the use of 'volo' in *De Sen.* 1, 2, 7, 19, 20; and *De Am.* 3, 9.

*Eo munere quo — uteretur.*] Something is said hereafter of the use of 'qui' followed by the subjunctive. The Latin should be rendered: "You occurred to me as worthy of an offering such as both

of us might enjoy in common."

*Cui qui pareat, &c.*] The position of the two relatives, and the similar position at the beginning of a clause, of 'qui si,' 'qui cum,' 'quod qui' (*De Am.* 10), ought to be carefully observed. 'Qui' thus placed should very rarely be translated by the English relative; though in this instance 'cui' may be so translated: "The which *if* a man were to obey, he might," &c. I have here purposely prefixed *the* to *which*; but if this old and good idiom should be disliked, we may say, "and if a man should obey it," &c.; which is a poor sort of expression, for the 'cui' loses its place and its emphasis. On the translation of such forms as 'pareat' with 'possit' in the corresponding member, see Professor Key's Grammar, on the conjugations.

misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Chius, parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, sed M. Catoni seni, quo majorem auctoritatem haberet oratio. Apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, iisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito Graecis litteris quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Jam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4. SCIPIO. Saepenumero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio tum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod nunquam senectutem tibi gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

*Admirantes quod—ferat,*] A comparison of like passages in which 'quod' is followed by the subjunctive will show that it belongs to the more general construction of the relative 'qui' with the subjunctive. Comp. De Sen. 2, 3, 4; De Am. 17.

*Suis libris,*] Cato was a soldier, an orator, a farmer, and an author. He wrote a small treatise De Re Rustica, which is extant, and Origines, or a history of the early events of Italy, of which some fragments remain. The fragments of his orations are collected by Meyer, Orat. Rom. Fragm. pp. 11—151, 2nd ed. Cicero says (Brutus, c. 17) that he had read above one hundred and fifty of Cato's orations.

*Quid opus*] An ordinary ellipsis in familiar discourse, instead of "quid opus est plura dicere?" Thus a Roman could say 'quid plura?' 'quid multa?' The omis-

sion of a verb in familiar conversation or writing was common. Cicero begins a letter to Atticus (xvi. 3), "Tu vero sapienter. Nunc demum," &c.

2. *Sic—ut*] 'Sic' is used sometimes like 'ita,' and may be followed by 'ut' and the subjunctive, as in the expression (c. 1) "ita jucunda—fuit ut absterserit." Similar usages of 'sic—ut' occur in De Sen. 8, 'sic avide,' &c.; and 'sic' without an adjective or adverb, followed by 'ut,' as De Am. 1, 4. But the use of 'sic' is generally distinguishable from that of 'ita;' for 'ita' has the same relationship to 'is,' that 'sic' has to the demonstrative 'hic.' The distinct uses of these two words are perhaps not strictly observed in some passages of Cicero.

*Aetna*] This treatise abounds in short passages, the substance of which is taken from Greek writers, both poets and prose writers. The



CATO. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, iis omnis aetas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas afferat. Quo in genere est in

original of this passage of Cicero may be the Hercules Furens of Euripides, v. 631,—

— ἄχθος δὲ τὸ γῆρας ἀεὶ  
βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων ἐπὶ  
κρατὶ κείται.

*Quibus—iis*] ‘Is’ is simply a word of reference, and as much so when it is placed after ‘qui’ as when it is before it; though the form of expression is manifestly more emphatic here, than if the two parts of the sentence changed their relative position. The English idiom adopts another order, but one that is much inferior in expressiveness: “for every period of life is irksome to those who have no resources in themselves;” but the emphasis, which ‘quibus’ has in the Latin by virtue of its place, is lost in this version. The student, however, must observe the Latin order, and make himself familiar with it by frequently reading over such sentences as this. Yet it is possible to preserve the position of ‘quibus’ in the English version; and, if such a rendering as the following should not be considered the best, it may serve at least to show the meaning of the position of ‘quibus’: “for, if a man (quibus) has no resources, &c., to such a one (iis),” &c.

*A se ipsi*] Some MSS. have ‘ipsi,’ which is the more usual and the better form. Orelli has ‘ipsis.’

*Quod—afferat.*] This is part

of the subject, of which is predicated, that it cannot appear bad. If part of the subject is thus placed after the predicate, which is generally the case when a negative is used, this disjoined part of the subject is expressed by ‘qui’ with the subjunctive. The form of the sentence might be, “quod naturae necessitas affert, id non potest malum videri.” Numerous examples of this use of the subjunctive occur, some of which may not appear at first to be rightly explained on the principle above stated. In the expression, “nihil habeo quod accusem senectutem” (De Sen. 5), ‘quod accusem,’ &c., is the subject, the supposed existence of which is negated. Indeed these forms of expression are in a manner conditional: “nihil autem molestum quod non desideres” (De Sen. 14): “in fact, if you don’t care about having a thing, it gives you no uneasiness;” or, in other words, “nothing gives you uneasiness if you don’t care about having it.” “Cui parent nesciunt” (De Am. 15): “they are getting, they know not for whom;” “they know not for whom they are getting.” Here the logical subject is ‘cui parent,’ “for whom they are getting;” and of such, ignorance in the getters is predicated. In “nemo est enim tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere” (De Sen. 7), the subject is ‘tam senex—vivere,’ ‘a man so old as not to expect to



primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putavissent. Primum, quis coegit eos falsum putare? Quid enim citius adolescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adolescentia obrepat? Deinde, quî minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa quum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. 5. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapi-

live a year;’ and the existence of such a man is negated. Nothing is clearer than the following passage: “ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendat,” where it is obvious that ‘ad quas—qui descendat,’ ‘a man to descend to,’ is the subject and the nominative of ‘est,’ and that of such a man it is said or predicated ‘non est facile inventu.’ In De Sen. 19, we have “nec quid sequatur sciri potest,” where the subject ‘quid sequatur’ is manifest. There is occasionally an apparent and perhaps sometimes a real difficulty in determining the subject and the predicate of a sentence; that is, it may be difficult to discover precisely what the person who framed the sentence meant, and partly because he has conceived his idea vaguely himself. In the expression, “senex ne quod speret quidem habet” (De Sen. 19), it may be said that of ‘an old man’ (the subject) it is predicated that ‘he has no hope;’ but this is not correct, as the context shows. The subject of discourse is ‘long life’ (diu se victurum): it has been affirmed that the ‘young man hopes for it,’ and that the ‘old man cannot hope for

it;’ the talk is about ‘long life,’ and not merely this or that person. The question is, of what persons long life or the hope of long life can be predicated. That the predication of hope or no hope may be made simply of a young man or of an old man, I do not of course deny; but I deny that it is so here. In the expression; “nemo convenire me voluit cui fuerim occupatus” (De Sen. 10), the subject is “a person with reference to whom I was engaged,” which supposition is negated. The same thing might be somewhat differently expressed thus: “nemini fui occupatus qui me voluerit convenire,” where ‘a man wishing to see me’ is the subject, of which is predicated that “I was never engaged when such a thing happened.”

*Adeptam:*] Several MSS. have ‘adepti,’ but there is authority for the passive form. Forcellini, Lexicon, by Furlanetto.

*Quid enim*] It is usual to put a note of interrogation after ‘quid enim,’ the reason for which those must give who would have it.

*In hoc—quod sequimur*] If this is considered as containing an

entes quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, quum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque frugibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum Diis nisi naturae repugnare? 6. LAELIUS. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo

independent affirmation, there is no difficulty about the use of the indicative. Comp. De Sen. 12, 13, 17; De Am. 5; Ad Q. Fr. 1. Such a passage as the following in the De Am. 20, "quas qui impedire vult quod desiderium non ferat, is et infirmus est," &c., is a different kind of sentence. But see the note on "si in hoc erro," &c., c. 23.

*Naturam optimam ducem.*] The sense in which 'natura' is used in this treatise is hardly open to any objection. On the meaning of the expression 'to follow nature' and 'to live according to nature,' and the like, Bishop Butler has some valuable remarks in the introduction to his sermons. In the De Amicitia Nature is called the best guide to good living, by which the writer clearly means, that the whole constitution of man's nature shows how he ought to live; which is not by following a part of his nature, as, for instance, his animal propensities only, but by living in conformity to the whole nature of his being. The true notion of living according to nature is clearly expressed by the Emperor Antoninus (Med. ii. 1, and elsewhere).

The word 'nature' is seldom used by the Greek and Roman philosophical writers so loosely as it is by many modern writers, whose meaning requires to be narrowly examined. It often means God, as Seneca says (De Ben. iv. 8): "sic nunc naturam voca, fatum, fortunam; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt varie utentis sua potestate."

*Discriptae*] Orelli's reading is 'descriptae,' and he gives no various reading 'discriptae.' I do not however hesitate to restore a genuine word, which differs from 'describo,' as 'decedo' from 'discedo,' 'depono' from 'dispono.' 'Discribere' means 'to mark out:' 'describo' is to mark down, to copy from, and the like.

*Vietum*] The word is formed according to analogy from 'vieo,' to bind. It is applied by Columella (xii. 15) to a fig full ripe, and opposed to 'immatura.' It does not seem very easy to connect the meanings of this word with the meaning of 'vieo.' It however means a thing that has lost its vigor and strength, and is on the verge of decay.

ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus. CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est. LAEL. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc quo pervenisti videre quale sit.

III. 7. CATO. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querelis meorum aequalium—pares autem, vetere proverbio, cum paribus facillime congregantur—quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines Consulares nostri fere aequales deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab iis a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reli-

*Quam—ingrediendum sit,*] The reading 'qua' is properly rejected by Manutius and others who have followed him. See *Ingridior*, Forcellini.

*Istuc*] The connexion of this word 'istuc,' 'the place where you are,' with 'quo pervenisti,' and the use of the word 'iste' generally in this treatise, will show a careful reader that 'iste' has a reference in some way to the person who is addressed. No word is so much misused by modern writers of Latin. "Est istuc quidem Laeli, aliquid," (De Sen. 3,) refers to what Laelius had just said. "Omnes autem qui istinc veniunt" (Ad Q. Fr. 13), says Cicero to his brother Quintus: "all those who come from your province," the province where Quintus then was. The Italians use their demonstrative pronoun 'cotesto' in the same way.

3. *Querelis—quae C. Salinator,*]

Some editions have 'quas,' but 'quae' is the right reading. After saying that he had often heard the complaints of some of his comrades, Cato interposes a proverb, and instead of continuing the sentence thus: "C. Salinatoris, Sp. Albini qui," &c., he resumes simply with reference to the sense, as if he had begun, "I have heard what C. Salinator," &c. The form of the sentence is more like a Greek than a Latin construction. The use of 'quod' followed by 'carerent' depends partly on the oblique form, which is here used in reporting the words of others, and partly on the fact that 'quod carerent,' &c., is merely the subject, and that the predicate is in 'deplorare.' The use of 'putarent' is also in accordance with a general principle, by virtue of which the tense of 'puto' in this instance must follow that of the verb, to which it is subordinate.

quisque omnibus majoribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querela, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istiusmodi querelarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8. LAEL. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere. CATO. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto [sunt] omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in jurgio respondisse, quum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: nec hercule, inquit, si ego Seriphius essem, nobilis, nec tu, si Atheniensis esses, clarus unquam fuisses. Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis.

9. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, quum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos efferunt fructus, non solum quia nunquam deserunt ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis, quanquam id maximum est, verum etiam quia conscientia

*Qui—non moleste ferrent,]* If this sentence causes any difficulty, it may be removed by considering that Cicero might have said “quorum multos cognovi qui non quererentur,” and what follows would have the same form that it has now.

*Themistocles — nobilis,]* The story is taken from Plato (*Rep. i.*), where the word which corresponds to ‘nobilis’ is *ὀνομαστός*, which, as Manutius observes, makes it the

more surprising that some critics should have preferred ‘ignobiles,’ the reading of certain MSS., which is contradicted by the passage in Plato, and in Plutarch (*Life of Themistocles*, c. 18), who has the word *ἐνδοξός*, and by the sense of the passage itself. The story is told somewhat differently in terms by Herodotus (*viii.* 125), but it is the same in substance. If all the MSS. had ‘ignobiles,’ it ought to be rejected.



bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio jucundissima est.

IV. 10. Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, adolescens ita dilexi senem ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen jam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adolescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum

4. *Eum qui—in illo*] The frequent use of the form 'is qui' enables a careful reader to distinguish the use of 'is,' a word of reference, from the demonstrative 'ille,' which points to the remoter object, when contrasted with 'hic,' which refers to the nearer; and when it is not contrasted with 'hic,' it is still used conformably to its proper meaning to designate a person or thing emphatically. After speaking of Q. Maximus as 'ille vir,' 'that great man,' he has presently occasion simply to refer to him as the subject of his narrative, which is done by the word 'eum.'

*Quartum consule*] Consul for the fourth time. 'Quartum' is the word nearly always used in this sense (Liv. iii. 67), not quarto. In the Monumentum Ancyranum: "Patritiorum numerum auxi consul quartum."

*Quaestor deinde, &c.*] This passage stands as it is in Orelli's text. The various readings are very perplexing. Cato's quaestorship was in the consulship of M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, B.C. 204. The reading in the Variorum edition is, "ad

Tarentum quaestor; deinde aedilis, quadriennio post factus sum praetor; quem magistratum," &c. Cato was born B.C. 234, according to Cicero: he was with Fabius at Capua B.C. 214; with him again at Tarentum B.C. 209, according to Cicero; quaestor B.C. 204; in B.C. 199 plebeian aedile; in B.C. 198 praetor in Sardinia; consul for the first time B.C. 195; and censor B.C. 184. Manutius explains the old text by referring 'quem magistratum' to the quaestorship; for he remarks, if Cato were praetor in the consulship of Tuditanus and Cethegus (B.C. 204), there would be nine years between his praetorship and consulship, which would be improbable. But if he was quaestor with Fabius at Tarentum B.C. 209, he was not quaestor in the consulship of Cethegus and Tuditanus. Besides this, it is hardly probable that the mention of his aedileship and praetorship would be interposed, before he fixed the year of his quaestorship, by the words 'quem magistratum,' &c. The conclusion is that what relates to his aedileship and praetorship is properly rejected.



gessi Consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, quum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adolescens, quum plane grandis esset, et Annibalem juveniliter exsultantem patientia sua mollebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,  
Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem.  
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! quum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti, Certe, inquit ridens, nam nisi tu amisisses, nunquam recepissem. Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga, qui Consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra Senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque quum esset,

*Suasor legis Cinciae*] 'Suasor' is a term applied to one who speaks in favour of a law (lex). The 'lex Cincia' was a plebescitum, enacted B.C. 204. It took its name from the tribune M. Cincius Alimentus. One provision of the lex forbade a person to take any thing for pleading a cause (Cic. De Orat. ii. 71; Liv. xxxiv. 4). But it contained other provisions with reference to gifts. The matter is discussed by Savigny, *Zeitschrift für Geschicht. Rechtswissenschaft*; by Hasse in the *Rheinisches Museum* (1827); and by Puchta, *Inst.* vol. ii. § 206.

*Non enim, &c.*] See De Officiis i. 24. The best MSS. have the reading 'non enim,' &c., to which there is no objection, for the 'e' in 'enim' was dropped in the reading.

*Ita dicenti,*] Some MSS. omit 'ita;' and it is perhaps better

omitted. In a passage where Cicero (De Finibus i. 9) wishes emphatically to introduce what he is going to say, the expression is "idque instituit docere sic;" in which case 'ita' would not be admissible. Compare (De Sen. 6): "et tamen sic a patribus acceptimus."

*Agrum Picentem*] This agrarian law is mentioned by Polybius (ii. 21), who says that it was carried, and he places it in B.C. 232, four years earlier than Cicero; for the second consulship of Fabius was B.C. 228. The term 'dividenti,' which occurs in Livy (iv. 48 and elsewhere) refers to a proposal to distribute conquered land; and 'viritim' means so much for each plebeian.

*Auctoritatem*] If a measure was approved by the senate, before it was confirmed by the comitia,

dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur, quae contra rem publicam ferrentur contra auspicia ferri. 12. Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil est admirabilius quam quomodo ille mortem filii tulit clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam quum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo! quae praecepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis! quae scientia juris augurii! Multae etiam ut in homine Romano litterae. Omnia memoria tenebat, non domestica solum sed etiam externa bella. Cujus sermone ita tum cupide fruebar quasi jam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo extincto fore unde discerem neminem.

V. 13. Quorsum igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recor-

the senate were said 'auctores fieri,' and their resolution was an 'auctoritas' (Cic. Brutus, c. 14). The meaning of the expression 'patres auctores fiunt' requires an historical exposition, which is given by Becker (Handbuch der Röm. Alterthümer), and though the subject is not free from difficulty, his view of it may be accepted until a better appears.

*Nihil admirabilius quam quomodo—tulit,*] Manutius remarks that this expression is inconsistent with the rules of grammar. Perhaps the expression may not often occur. The question is if it should be 'tulerit.' Orelli gives no various reading.

*Juris augurii!*] Some MSS. have 'juris et augurii;' but we

may say 'jus augurium,' the law that related to augury, as we say 'jus pontificium,' the branch of law that related to the duties and powers of the pontifices. The distinction between 'jus,' which in one of its senses signifies 'law' generally, and 'lex,' a statute, an enactment of the comitia, ought to be distinctly apprehended.

*Ut in homine Romano*] "For a Roman," "considering he was a Roman." "Quae tamen ut in malis acerbitati anteponeunda est" (Ad Q. Fr. 13) is similar, though not quite the same.

5. *Ut urbium, &c.*] The word 'ita' is omitted in such cases as this, and others like it. "Saepe incidunt magnae res ut discedendum sit ab amicis." (De Am. 20)

dentur. Est etiam quiete et pure et eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem acceperimus Platonis qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus; qualem Isocratis qui eum librum qui Panathenaicus inscribitur quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cujus magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos neque unquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, quum ex eo quaeretur cur tamdiu vellet esse in vita, nihil habeo, inquit, quod accusem senectutem. 14. Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum. Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is cujus modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo  
Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectu' quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; quem quidem probe meminisse potestis. Anno enim undevicesimo post ejus mortem hi consules T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum Consulibus mortuus est: quum ego quidem v et LX annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis

*cur—vellet*] 'Cur' is one of the conjunctions formed from 'qui,' and in such a sentence as this is followed by the subjunctive mood, as in this chapter: "reperio quatuor causas cur senectus misera videatur" (see also De Sen. 21; De Am. 13, 21): "reasons for old age being considered miserable I find to be four."

*Vicit Olympia,*] Olympia is the accusative plural of Olympius, and the construction is a Greek usage, like τὰ πάντα νικᾶν, μάχην νικᾶν, 'Ολύμπια νικᾶν.

*M'. Acilius*] M' is the abbreviation for Manius, a Roman praenomen, which the MSS. and the

editors have often incorrectly replaced by M. or Marcus, as in reprints of Ernesti's edition.

*Legem Voconiam*] This. lex was enacted B.C. 169. Its provisions are somewhat obscurely stated by the ancient authorities, but the general object may be stated to be, to limit the amount of property that a woman could take as heres. (Gaius, ii. 274.) The article Lex Voconia in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, by the author of this note, contains the reference to the authorities on this subject.

*Bonis lateribus*] 'With good sides,' 'strong sides,' sound in

lateribus suasissem. Annos LXX natus, tot enim vixit Ennius, ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur. 15. Etenim, quum contemplor animo, reperio quatuor causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit justa unaquaeque videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? An iis quae juventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res sunt seniles quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus? nihil L. Paullus, pater tuus, Scipio, socer optimi viri, filii mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, quum rem publi-

wind, and so forth. Comp. c. 9. Plinius (Ep. ii. 11) says, "ut saepius admoneret voci laterique consulerem." Of a person who is wearied and panting the Italians say 'e' batte il fianco.' Forcellini.

6. *An iis quae juventute geruntur et viribus?*] This is the true order of the words, not "geruntur juventute et viribus," as in Ernesti. 'An' is the conjunction used in the second part of a disjunctive question; and, when it stands thus at the beginning of a sentence, it has reference to what has been stated before. Here the affirmation is, that old age withdraws us from public affairs; which is followed by the question 'from what'? followed up by the further question, 'from all or only from,' &c. Compare, 'An ne eas quidem vires,' &c. (De Sen. 9.) The enclitic 'ne' is used in direct interrogative

sentences, and is placed after the emphatic word as, 'Nullaene igitur,' &c. See Key's Latin Grammar, Interrogative Particles.

*L. Paullus*, &c.] Scipio, one of the speakers in the dialogue, was the younger son of L. Aemilius Paullus who conquered Macedonia. He was adopted by P. Scipio, the son of the Scipio who defeated Hannibal at Zama. Accordingly his complete name was P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, the word *Aemilianus* indicating his original gens. He was called Africanus Minor to distinguish him from his grandfather by adoption.

*Quum—defendebant, nihil agebant?*] In such a case as this the indicative with 'quum' marks distinctly an event contemporaneous with another. "Quum contemplor animo, reperio" (De Sen. 4); "nec cessare nunc video quum bella non gero" (De Sen. 6). There are



cam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant?  
 16. Ad Appii Claudii senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, quum sententia Senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant  
 Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime: notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appii extat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septem et decem annis post alterum consulatum, quum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent, censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intelligitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse: et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. 17. Nihil igitur afferunt qui in re gerenda

numerous examples in this treatise and in the *De Amicitia*. In the expression “quum sententia senatus inclinaret non dubitavit,” it is not the writer’s intention to mark the words of Appius as immediately prompted by the senate’s opinion, but simply as delivered during a time when the senate was inclined to this opinion. Compare ‘quum vellem—tu occurrebas’ (*De Sen.* 1), “while I was in this disposition of mind, you occurred”; “eo sermone quem moriens habuit quum admodum senex esset” (*De Sen.* 9). The principal uses of ‘quum’ with the indicative and with the subjunctive may be easily collected by a diligent student, who will be assisted by Key’s *Latin Grammar*, 1455. Of, ‘quom,’ &c.

*Illā quae*] The juxtaposition of ‘is’ and ‘qui’ occurs so often, that the most careless reader must observe it. Cicero could certainly have used ‘ea quae’ in this passage, but ‘illa’ is the demonstrative in its

proper sense, and emphatic; which remark is made in order that such passages as this may not be alleged as evidence of ‘is’ and ‘ille’ being ever used indifferently. ‘Qui’ may of course refer to ‘ille,’ as well as to ‘is.’ The distinction between the two could not be more clearly marked than in the expression: “ad illa prima redeamus, *eaque ipsa* concludamus” (*De Am.* 26), where ‘ea’ refers to ‘illa.’

*Nihil igitur afferunt*, &c.] The “qui . . . negant” contains as direct a negation, as if we were to write, “qui hoc negant, ii nihil afferunt.” It is intended to affirm that there are persons who deny that old age is engaged in the administration of public affairs, and also to affirm of such that their affirmation is nothing to the purpose. It is true that “qui . . . negant,” having been enunciated as a proposition, becomes the subject of the other proposition. But this is very different from such a sentence



versari senectutem negant; similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, quum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille [autem] clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi. Non facit ea quae juvenes. At vero multo majora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitatibus aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. 18. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor quum bella non gero. At Senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo et quomodo: Karthagini male jam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua vereri non ante desinam quam illam excisam esse cognovero. 19. Quam palmam utinam Dii immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare, cujus a morte tertius hic et tricesimus annus est: sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consu-

as 'sunt qui . . . negent,' in which there is only one distinct proposition, the affirmation of the existence of persons who will deny.

*Similesque sunt ut si qui*] Probably the true reading. There is a reading, 'similesque sunt iis qui,' &c.

*At vero, &c.*] 'At' is here used in answer to an argument, which it does not deny, but renders useless by the addition of something else. In (De Sen. c. 7) 'At memoria minuitur. Credo,' &c. an objection is anticipated. It is used (De Sen. 11) both ways: 'At ita,' an anticipated objection; 'At id quidem,' the answer to it.

*Ego vobis, &c.*] When the object is to connect closely the idea of two persons, the words must be

placed together. A comparison of like passages is a sufficient illustration of this remark: 'ego vestros patres' (De Sen. 21); 'quem ego meum casum' (De Sen. 23); 'ego vos hortari,' &c. (De Am. 5. 1.)

*At Senatui quae sint gerenda*] Ernesti has 'sunt,' one of the many examples of false Latinity in his text. A little further on he has 'excipient omnes anni,' a manifest misplacing of words. The MSS. vary much in the order of words. Porson remarks of the text of the Greek dramatic writers, where we have the metre to guide us, that the safest mode of emendation, when there is error, is to alter the order of the words.

*Novem annis*] Here the amount

latum, quum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae poeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut cominus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium majores nostri appellassent Senatum. 20. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adolescentibus labefactas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, quâ vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?

Sic enim percontantur, ut est in Naevii Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adolescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. 21. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas aut si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina. Num igitur censetis eum, quum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos. Nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod

of time by which one event differs from another is marked, not merely a duration, which as a general rule must be in the accusative. 'Multis annis ante' (De Sen. 9); 'quadriennio post' (id.); De Am. 1, 4, 12.

*Num igitur,*] This particle is used in direct questions: "it commonly implies the expectation of an answer in the negative, and 'nonne' in the affirmative" (Key's Grammar, 1419). It is also used when the question is put in the indirect form: 'quaesisse num illud' (De Sen. 7; De Am. 19). In the

sentence, 'num igitur hunc, num Homerum . . . an in omnibus his' (De Sen. 7), it forms a part of the disjunctive question.

*Cedo,*] The forms 'cědō,' 'cědě,' 'give,' or 'tell,' are all that are used. See Forcellini's Lexicon. This iambic line is quoted from Naevius, one of the old dramatists of Rome, who probably died B.C. 202. If 'Ludo' is the true reading, which is not quite certain, the quotation may be from a play entitled 'Ludus.'

7. *Quod aiunt,*] 'As the saying is.' It was, says Erasmus, a

aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senum audiui oblitum quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt; vadimonia constituta; qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant. 22. Quid jurisconsulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophi senes, quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria; nec ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit. Quod propter studium quum

popular notion that it injured the memory to read sepulchral inscriptions.

*Omnia quae curant, &c.*] If any difficulty should be felt about this sentence, it may be removed by a little consideration. 'Omnia' is the subject, of which is predicated 'meminerunt,' 'they remember;' but 'omnia' is not universal; it is limited in signification by another predicate, 'quae curant,' which is a direct affirmation. Now 'qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant' stand in the same relation of subject to 'meminerunt,' that 'omnia' does; and if something could be predicated of 'qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant,' the verb of predication might be in the indicative mood.

*Vadimonia constituta;*] 'Constituere,' to fix. The following remarks may serve to explain a legal expression, which often occurs: "When the parties appeared *in jure* (that is before the Praetor or other magistrate who had jurisdiction), as a general rule the proceedings before the magistrate were by no means ended on the same day, for the plaintiff now declared to the defendant what kind of action he intended to bring (*editio actionis*, Dig. 2. tit. 13), and it was

necessary that time should be allowed to the defendant to prepare his defence. Accordingly the parties agreed on a time when they should again appear *in jure*, and this engagement is called *vadimonium*, and is comprehended under the general expression *cautio iudicio sisti*; it refers to a sum of money as the *poena desertionis*, which in some cases was equal in amount to the matter in dispute, in other cases to one-half, but never exceeded 100,000 sesterces. The defendant had as a general rule to furnish sureties (*vades*) for the amount of the 'vadimonium;' sometimes the suretyship was dispensed with (*vadimonium purum*); in other cases it was replaced by the oath, or by an immediate condemnation in the amount of the 'poena' by 'recuperatores,' if the 'vadimonium' was broken (Gaius iv. 184—187). Under these circumstances it was manifestly more convenient for the parties to save themselves the first appearance before the court, and instead of the *in jus vocatio* to agree from the first about a day for the actual decision of the question, and secure it by 'vadimonium.'" Puchta, *Instit.* ii. § 160, 1st ed.

rem negligere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est ut, quemadmodum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quae-  
sisseque, num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. 23. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, num Simonidem, num Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi, Isocratem, Gorgiam, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coegit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus, an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit? 24. Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus nunquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in aliis minus hoc mirum; nemo

*Patribus*, &c.] ‘*Patribus*’ is the dative, and ‘*bonis*’ is the ablative. The usual form of expression is this: “tamquam si illi aqua et igni interdictum sit.” Cic. Phil. vi. 4. The reading ‘*patriis*’ is rightly rejected; nor is ‘*patribus*’ superfluous. For though the Praetor’s interdict extended to all ‘*pro-digi*,’ persons who were wasting their substance, the present was the case of a father, and therefore ‘*fathers*’ are mentioned. See the article ‘*Curator*,’ by the author of this note: ‘*Smith’s Dict. of Antiq.*’ The formula of the Roman Praetor (Paulus, Rec. Sent. iii. tit. iv. A. § 7) states the legal consequence of his interdict and shows the form of expression: “Quando

tibi bona paterna avitaeque nequitia tua disperdis liberosque tuos ad egestatem perducis, ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico.”

*Recitare*] This word is used differently from ‘*legere*,’ which is generally, not always, a private reading. See Forcellini.

*Agro Sabino*] ‘*Ager*’ is often used for a territory, or district, as ‘*Ager Sabinus*,’ ‘*Ager Romanus*.’ It also means a possession or property. A ‘*field*’ is never the right translation.

*Nemo enim est*] A remark on punctuation may not be out of place here. What effect can be produced by the placing of a comma after ‘*senex*,’ as is usual, except to make a reader believe



enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere : sed iidem in eis elaborant quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere :

Serit arbores quae alteri seculo prosient,

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. 25. Nec vero dubitet agricola quamvis senex quaerenti cui serat respondere : Diis immortalibus qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.

VIII. Melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem :

Edepol senectus, si nil quidquam aliud vitæ  
Apportes tecum, quum advenis, unum id sat est  
Quod diu vivendo multa quae non vult videt.

Et multa fortasse quae vult ; atque in ea quidem quae non vult saepe etiam adolescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius :

Tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,  
Sentire ea aetate esse se odiosum alteri.

26. Jucundum potius quam odiosum. Ut enim adoles-

that 'qui se—non putet,' &c. contains a direct predication? whereas it is part of the subject 'senex:' "a man so old as not to think that he may live a year, there is none." The supposition is negatived.

*Caecilius Statius*] was a Roman writer of comedy, who died B.C. 168. His plays were translations or adaptations of Greek originals.

8. *Illud idem* :—*Illud vero*] It is in accordance with the sense of 'ille,' to be used in such sentences as these, though 'hoc' might be used; but 'id' could not. Compare such expressions as: "me ipse consolor et maxime illo solatio quod eo errore careo quo," &c. (De

Am. 3.)

*Ut—sic*] This is one of the most common forms of expressing a comparison. "Ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur" (De Sen. 6): "ut adolescentem—sic senem" (De Sen. 11). Sometimes 'sic' is placed first: "sic me colitote ut deum" (De Sen. 22); sometimes 'sic' and 'ut' come together, and the practice is to unite them as one word: "sicut aliarum rerum" (De Am. 19). 'Sic' sometimes has for the corresponding word of reference in the prior member of the sentence, in place of 'ut,' the words 'quem-admodum' (De Sen. 7; De Am. 4); and 'tamquam' (Ad Q. Fr. 1).



centibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit eorum senectus qui a juventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adolescentes senum praeceptis gaudent quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur. Nec minus intelligo me vobis quam mihi vos esse jucundos. Sed videtis ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet quale cujusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se quotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri: ut ego feci qui Graecas litteras senex didici, quas quidem sic avide arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod quum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, discebant enim fidibus antiqui, sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

IX. 27. Nec nunc quidem vires desidero adolescentis, is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, non plus quam adolescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est eo

*Videtis ut—sit,*] “Videtisne ut—praedicet” (De Sen. 10). ‘Ut’ is one of the forms of the relative, and the dependent clause ‘ut—sit’ is the subject of the predication ‘videtis.’

*Aliquid addiscentem, &c.*] The words of Solon are (Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, p. 330)

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδά-  
σκόμενος.

*Vellem equidem etiam illud,*] “I wish I could have done that too.” This is part of a sentence in which the condition ‘si,’ ‘if,’ is suppressed. ‘Vellem equidem’ (De Sen. 10). Compare the passage in the letter Ad Q. Fr. 12: “Quamquam in his litteris longior fui quam aut vellem aut quam me

putavi fore.”

*Discebant—fidibus*] ‘Learned to play on a stringed instrument.’ There is also the expression “fidibus canere, docere, scire.”

9. *Locus*] ‘Locus’ means a topic, or matter of discourse, in Greek τόπος. “Cum pervestigare argumentum aliquod volumus, locos nosse debemus: sic enim appellatae ab Aristotele sunt hae quasi sedes e quibus argumenta promuntur.” (Cic. Top. 2.)

*Quod est, &c.*] This short sentence is a good example for showing the difference between the indicative and the subjunctive: “what you have, that you should use; and whatever you are doing, do it with your best efforts.” The first part of the sentence contains an

decet uti: et quidquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui, quum jam senex esset athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, adspexisse lacertos suos dicitur illacrimansque dixisse: At hi quidem mortui jam sunt. Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator; neque enim ex te unquam es nobilitatus sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus jura civibus praescribebantur, quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia. 28. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute, est enim munus ejus non ingenii solum sed laterum et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendet etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen decorus est senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam disertis senis compta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim jucundius senectute stipata studiis juventutis? 29. An ne eas quidem vires senectuti relinquamus ut adolescentulos doceat, instituat, ad omne officii

affirmation, 'quod est:' 'quidquid agas' contains no direct affirmation, but is the subject of which is predicated 'agere pro viribus decet.'

*At hi quidem*] 'At' also "denotes a sudden emotion of the mind, and is employed in sudden transitions in speech." Key's Grammar, 1445, d.

*Jura—praescribebantur,*] The three Romans mentioned in this chapter were 'jurisconsulti' or 'jurisprudentes,' 'men acquainted with the law.' Ti. Coruncanius, who was made Pontifex Maximus about B.C. 254, was the first plebeian Pont. Max. The plural 'jura'

has two meanings, corresponding to the two meanings of the singular 'jus,' which is used to express both 'law' generally, and 'a right' or 'legal faculty.' In this passage 'jura' means 'the rules of law,' portions of the whole 'jus,' which these jurists in their 'responsa' defined or determined for their fellow citizens according to the circumstances of the case. There is a reading 'perscribebantur,' but the right reading is in the text. 'Prudentia' has here its special or technical meaning of 'juris prudentia.' 'Jurisprudentes' are sometimes simply called 'prudentes.'

*Instituat,*] This is a technical

munus instruat? Quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium juvenum fortunati videbantur; nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adolescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adolescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. 30. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone quem moriens habuit, quum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliolem factam quam adolescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui quum quadriennio post alterum consulatum Pontifex Maximus factus esset viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis ut adolescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere; quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur.

X. 31. Videtisne ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim jam aetatem hominum vivebat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, ex ejus lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio, quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus: et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Ajacis similes habeat decem; at ut Nestoris, quod si acciderit, non

word applied to giving elementary instruction, in law, for instance, as well as in other things. Hence the Roman elementary treatises on law were called 'Institutiones.'

*Apud Xenophontem*] 'Apud' is the common word in such case. The passage referred to is in the last book of the Cyropaedia.

*Requireret.*] 'Did not feel the want of,' 'did not look for.'

"Quum absit ne requiras" (De Sen. 10).

10. *Ex ejus lingua, &c.*] Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέειν αὐδῆ. Il. i. 249. The passage of Homer which is shortly after referred to is Il. ii. 371, &c.

*At ut Nestoris,*] 'At' seems here to occupy the place which 'sed' would occupy. As in Cicero

dubitat quin brevi sit Troja peritura. 32. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum annum ago et octogesimum: vellem equidem idem posse gloriari quod Cyrus: sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim, aut quadriennio post quum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Acilio Glabrione consule; sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit nec afflixit senectus; non curia vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim unquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio quod monet, mature fieri senem, si diu velis esse senex. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse malletm quam esse senem ante quam essem. (Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit cui fuerim occupatus.) 33. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Pontii centurionis vires habetis: num idcirco est ille praestantior? Mode-

(Verr. vii. c. 6) "O praeclarum imperatorem, nec jam cum M'. Aquilio, sed vero cum Paulis, Scipionibus conferendum." But the place of 'at' is at the beginning of a sentence or clause. Forcellini gives the following example of 'at' used like 'sed' (Cic. Ad Att. vii. 6), "Non est, inquit, in parietibus res publica, at in aris et focis:" where one MS. has 'sed.' But there should be a full stop after 'publica.' I have put a semicolon after 'decem,' in place of a comma.

*Curia—Rostra,*] 'Curia' the senate-house; 'Rostra,' the place in the forum from which an orator addressed the popular assemblies.

*Mature fieri, &c.*] Cato's objection to the proverb is a sound one in the sense in which he understands the proverb; but the proverb is ambiguous like many proverbs, and therefore good for

nothing. "To become an old man in good time," if it means in all respects an old man, is an absurd way of talking. If it means an old man in some respects, it errs on the side of vagueness. But why should a man at any period of life attempt to be that which is not conformable to the period of life? That would be to act against nature.

*Malletm*] 'Malletm' must be distinguished from 'malim,' which implies a present possibility, and is a modest way of saying what a man would prefer. Cato being an old man, whose term of life in all probability could not be long, says, "For my part I would rather have been an old man for a shorter time than I have been, than have been an old man before I was one." Compare the use of 'malis' which occurs a little further on.



ratio modo virium adsit, et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur; nae ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, quum humeris sustineret bovem vivum. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis vires ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare dum adsit; quum absit ne requiras; nisi forte adolescentes pueritiam, paullum aetate progressi adolescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas juvenum, et gravitas jam constantis aetatis, et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat quod suo tempore percipi debeat. 34. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; quum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non adscendere; quum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem; itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Non sunt in senectute vires. Ne postulantur qui-

*Utrum—an*] This is one of the forms of the disjunctive, which the student should master. Comp. 'utrum—an' (De Am. 8: Ad Q. Fr. 6; and Key's Grammar, 1423).

*Ferocitas*] This word is an example of a large class of English words, derived directly or mediately from the Latin, which have not precisely the signification of the original. There is perhaps not much danger of 'ferocitas' being rendered 'ferocity' in this passage; but the true meaning of it may be overlooked, unless we observe its position between 'infirmitas' and

'gravitas.'

*Masinissa*] This hardy old African, a Numidian king, is said by Polybius (xxxvii. ed. Bekk.) to have died B. C. 148, at the age of ninety. He was therefore living at the time when this conversation is supposed to have taken place, B.C. 150; but he was not quite ninety then. He left a numerous family behind him, and among his children one only four years of age.

11. *Non sunt, &c.*] This is a supposed objection; the answer to which is "ne postulantur quidem,"



dem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus iis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. 35. At ita multi sunt imbecilli senes ut nullum officii aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit! quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, quum id ne adolescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum,

without 'at' prefixed, which might be added.

*Legibus, &c.*] '*Leges*' means positive enactments: '*institutis*' here does not differ from '*moribus*,' 'custom.' It appears from the note of Manutius, that '*vacare*' has been taken by some interpreters in the sense of '*dare operam*,' a meaning which it sometimes has. But here it clearly means 'to be released from,' to have what the Romans called '*excusatio*,' a legal ground of excuse or exemption, as, for instance, from military service. See '*lamentis vacare*,' c. 20.

*Filius, is*] The common punctuation is '*Africani filius is, qui te adoptavit*,' which is absurd, the meaning being "the son of Africanus, he, I mean, who adopted you."

*Alterum illud*] Ernesti has the reading '*ille*,' which makes manifest nonsense. Several MSS. have '*illud*,' and one has '*aliud*,' merely a transcriber's blunder.

*Resistendum, &c.*] In this lies the main matter of the argument, which some have not seen: "we

must resist old age, and make amends for its defects by activity: we must struggle against old age as we would against a disease." Every age may be weak and sickly: youth, indeed, is exposed to more violent and dangerous diseases than old age, which in itself is a period of life marked by its peculiar character, as much as youth or vigorous manhood. Disease is common to every age, not peculiar to old age, which may be, and often is, the healthiest period of life. But with diminished strength and feebler appetites and impulses, old age brings a disposition to sloth and inactivity, which is the disease of that period of life. The remedy is to resist, to act to the end of life with all the vigour of which we are capable. Thus old age may be almost indefinitely prolonged. He who follows the proverb "*mature senem fieri*," in the sense of giving way to the insidious attacks of old age, who retires into inactivity and indulgence, will find old age really a disease, which will

Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, ejusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt: pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem. 36. Habenda ratio valetudinis; utendum exercitationibus modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori soli subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitatione ingravescent: animi autem [se] exercendo levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius

—comicos stultos senes,

hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somnulosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adolescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adolescentium, sed non proborum; sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. 37. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex. Intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, vere-

soon be terminated by death. But such a man has not reached his natural period; he has abridged it by sloth, as youth often abridges its period of existence by intemperance, one form of excessive activity.

*Animi autem, &c.*] Experience proves that mental activity is favourable to the prolongation of life in old age. He who has naturally a healthy body, and has not anticipated the years of old age by excess in youth, may enjoy an old age of very long duration by moderate exercise of the body,

temperance in all things, and the uninterrupted exercise of the mental powers on some fitting object. Titian painted when he was ninety-six. The censor, Appius, was a model of an old Roman. He commenced the construction of the Via Appia to Capua, and gave Rome a good supply of water by the Appian aqueduct. He was the oldest orator of whom we have any particular notice. (Meyer, *Orat. Rom.* Fragm. p. 1, &c.)

*Imperium in suos:*] 'Imperium' should be here translated 'dominion,' 'mastery,' or some

bantur liberi, earum omnes habebant : vigeat in illa domo patrius et disciplina. 38. Ita enim senectus honesta est si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adolescentem in quo senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adolescentis probo; quod qui sequitur corpore senex esse poterit, animo nunquam erit.) Septimus mihi Originum liber est in manibus : omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo : causarum illustrium quas-cunque defendi nunc quum maxime conficio orationes : jus augurium, pontificium, civile tracto : multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingenii, haec curricula mentis : in his desudans atque

equivalent expression ; for the term is an application of the sense of consular or praetorian 'imperium.' The contrast of 'metuebant' and 'verebantur' explains the meaning of the two terms.

*Ita—si*] 'Ita' has reference to the condition expressed by 'si—defendit,' and it should be translated in such a way as to maintain its place : "for it is on these conditions that old age is honourable, that it is its own defender, that it retains its personal independence, that it is subjected to no one." Cicero's expressions are legal terms, and consequently difficult to render exactly. A person was either 'sui juris,' for instance, one who was not under the parental power (*patria potestas*), or he was not. "Nam quaedam personae sui juris sunt, quaedam alieno juri sunt subjectae." (Gaius, i. 48.) The reading 'emancipata,' which Nonius and some MSS. have, is

incorrect, for the genuine form is 'mancipata;' 'mancipatio' is the form by which a person who was not 'sui juris' was transferred to the 'potestas' of another, as in the case of adoption. (Gellius, v. 19.) Cicero means to say, that the old man must not allow himself to fall into a state of dependence, similar to that of a person who is mancipated. 'Emancipare' seems to be the proper term to express the making of a person 'sui juris' by the act of 'mancipatio : ' but 'mancipo' and 'emancipo' are often confounded in the MSS.

*Jus augurium, &c.*] Ernesti's reading is "jus augurum, pontificum." As we say, "jus civile Romanorum," so perhaps we might say, "jus augurum," but the adjective is the better form according to analogy, though it does not appear to have the most MSS. in its favour.

elaborans corporis vires non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis: venio in Senatum frequens ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque tueor animi non corporis viribus. Quae si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus oblectaret meus ea ipsa cogitantem quae jam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intelligitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit; nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

XII. 39. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert nobis quod est in adolescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adolescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est quum essem adolescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo: "Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam corporis voluptatem hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cujus voluptatis avidæ libidines temere et effrenate ad potiundum incitarentur. 40. Hinc patriae prodiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clan-

*Utroque, &c.]* The absurd translation of this word by 'voluntarily' should be exploded. It is difficult to conceive how 'ultra' has been supposed to contain 'vol,' the root of 'volo.' 'Citra,' 'citro,' respectively correspond to 'ultra' and 'ultra:.' 'ultra' contains the element of 'ille,' 'il,' or 'ol,' and as 'ultra' means "on that or the further side," so 'ultra' means "towards the further or remoter place." If it cannot always be rendered by a single equivalent word, that is no further difficulty than we meet with in modern languages: the meaning must appear somewhere in the corresponding equivalent of the phrase. But there is no difficulty here: the

meaning is, "I often go to the senate, and I carry thither—."

12. *Quod—dicunt]* 'Quod' here connects one proposition with another, which is its exponent: there are two distinct propositions. "Follows the third head of complaint against old age, this they say," &c. Compare "summa laus senectutis est quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat." (De Sen. 13.)

*Nullam, &c.]* This is an example of the indirect form of expression, where the words of a person are reported by another. There are many excellent examples of this in Caesar's Gallic War, particularly in the first book.



destina colloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis illecebris nisi voluptatis. Quumque homini sive natura sive quis Deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil esse tam inimicum quam voluptatem. 41. Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intelligi posset, fingere animo jubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis quanta percipi posset maxima: nemini censebat fore dubium quin tamdiu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem: si quidem ea, quum major esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingeret." Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre ejus a quo Caudino praelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a majoribus natu accepisse dicebat, quum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Appio Claudio consulibus reperio. 42. Quorsus haec? Ut intelligatis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam habendam senectuti gratiam, quae

*Plato]* This visit of Plato to Tarentum, as determined by the years of the Roman consuls, would be B.C. 349, for these are the consuls of that year. Plato died at Athens, B.C. 347. Cicero's statement may be wrong about the time of Plato's visit to Tarentum, but some who have recently written the life of Plato have said nothing of this positive affirmation.

*Quae effecerit—oporteret.]* This

is generally translated, and there is no objection to the translation: "we ought to feel greatly obliged to old age for making us feel no inclination to that which we ought not to do;" and the clause that begins with 'quae' is said to express the reason of the thing that is asserted. But there is no logical conclusion in this sentence: the proposition is, that "to old age thanks are due, to old age which



effecerit ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas; rationi inimica est ac mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flaminium e Senatu ejicerem septem annis postquam consul fuisset; sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim quum esset Consul, in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido quae cum probro privato conjungeret imperii dedecus.

XIII. 43. Saepe audivi a majoribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, quum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cineas esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae facere-

takes away the inclination to do that which we ought not to do." It would be very easy to say, "magna habenda senectuti gratia, quae efficit ut id," &c.; but then 'quae efficit' would contain a direct affirmation, which makes the difference between this form and the other. An example will show how easily either form might take the place of the other: "habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam quae . . . auxit." (De Sen. 14.)

*Notandum*] 'Nota' or 'censoria nota,' was the technical term to signify that a man had fallen under the censor's animadversion. Livy says, "Patrum memoria institutum ferunt ut censores motis senatu adscriberent notas." Hence the term 'notare' is often used to signify generally any mark of

disapprobation, such as opinion has fixed on a man for his conduct. The scandalous story of L. Flamininus is told in Livy, (xxxix. 42), and by Plutarch (Life of the Elder Cato, c. 17, and Life of T. Flamininus, c. 19), with some discrepancies. Plutarch in the Life of the Elder Cato (c. 17) refers to this passage of Cicero, and also to the passage of Livy.

13. *Omnia—ad voluptatem*] Epicurus is the person alluded to. He did not mean only sensual pleasure, when he spoke of pleasure being the measure or standard to which all things were to be referred. If in place of pleasure we substitute the word 'happiness,' we have a modern doctrine which has had some vogue; that happiness is the object of man's

mus ad voluptatem esse referenda; quod ex eo audientes M'. Curium et T. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent quum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat. Norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui quum ex sua vita, tum ex ejus quem dico P. Decii facto judicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque sprete et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur. 44. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. At caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinolentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam ejus blanditiis non facile

existence, that happiness should be his pursuit. No doubt a man should not pursue his misery, though he often does so, or acts in such a way that misery is the consequence. But the pursuit of happiness is too vague a rule for practice. It matters not that, if rightly understood, the pursuit of happiness coincides with the doing of a man's duty, the only practical rule of life. The simple fact, that in order to justify the doctrine of the pursuit of happiness, we must put it in such a form that the wisest and best men will not dispute it, shows that the general expression is vague, and that people may interpret it differently. Besides, many persons who think that they are wise enough to know how to pursue their happiness, are only pursuing the gratification of some particular propensities, as

wealth and exalted station, and so forth; and most generally without any belief that they are on the whole pursuing their happiness. The doctrine is unsound in whatever way it is put. It is one of the many theories broached in modern times, which have been broached before, been tried, and have failed. The noble Roman P. Decius (the story is in Livy x. 28), who sacrificed his life for his country, acted under the conviction of his duty to die for his country; an imperfect conception of duty, but still it was a sense of duty. The doctrine of happiness would have made him save his life.

*At caret, &c.]* In some editions a note of interrogation is placed after 'poculis;' a manifest blunder.

obsistimus, divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut hamo pisces, quamquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviiis potest delectari. C. Duilium, M. F., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a coena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpsit: tantum licentiae dabat gloria. 45. Sed quid ego alios? Ad meipsum jam revertar. Primum habui semper sodales. Sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt, sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim majores nostri accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae conjunctionem haberet, convivium nominarunt; melius quam Graeci qui hoc idem tum computationem, tum concoenationem vocant; ut quod in eo genere minimum est id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. 46. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem

*Crebro funali*] Two MSS. have 'cereo,' which is supposed to be supported by the passage in Valerius Maximus (iii. 6); but Cicero means to say, that Duilius had several links and more pipers than one. And so the story is told by Florus (ii. c. 2). 'Credo,' the reading of some MSS., obviously means 'crebro.' This jovial old Roman was the admiral who gained a great naval victory over the Carthaginians near the Lipari islands, B.C. 260; and his exploit was commemorated by the Duilian column.

*Sodalitates*] These 'sodalitates' were clubs (in Greek *συσσίτια*), not political, which the Romans

did not allow, but for social purposes. Yet these associations sometimes assumed a political character (Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 3). The time when these clubs were established is here fixed by the occasion of the religious ceremonies of Cybele, the Great Mother, being introduced at Rome. The story of the Mater Deum being brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia, B.C. 203, is told in Livy (xxix. 11). The Mater Deum was a stone. The Megalesia or Megalenses Ludi were instituted in honour of the goddess.

*Computationem,*] The Greek *συμπόσιον*. 'Concoenatio' represents *συσσίτια*.

tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum: habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati cujus est etiam fortasse quidam naturalis motus, non intelligo ne in istis quidem voluptatibus ipsis carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a majoribus instituta; et is sermo qui more majorum a summo adhibetur in poculis; et pocula, sicut in symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate, et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum quotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus. 47. At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo: sed ne desideratio quidem. Nihil autem molestum

14. *Motus*,] Ernesti has 'modus,' the reading of many of the MSS.; but the context is in favour of 'motus.'

*Magisteria*] The president of an entertainment was '*magister*,' in Greek *συμποσίάρχος*. Allusions to this practice are common in the Roman writers (Horat. Carm. i. 4). The word '*magistro*,' which follows '*summo*' in some MSS., appears to be merely the addition of some copyist, made by way of explanation. The '*magister*' would often propose a subject for discussion, and give his own opinion first. Philosophy and drink were mingled together; but in order that philosophy should not be overpowered by drink, the cups must be small '*minuta*,' and '*rorantia*,' light and dewy, not drenching, like a heavy rain. Cicero had in his memory the

words of the Symposium of Xenophon (ii. 26): *ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πικρὰ ἐπιψακάζωσιν*, &c.

*Nihil autem*, &c.] The correct rendering of such an expression cannot be too much insisted on. It is not correct to render it thus: "nothing gives a man any pain which he does not want." "Non est molestum id quod non desideras" is good Latin, but it contains the distinct negation, "not wanting a thing." The original sentence is a predication of an hypothetical sentence: "nothing gives a man any trouble if he does not feel the want of it." A little further on we have an example of a sentence with the two direct propositions in it, "non caret is qui non desiderat," "he who does not feel the want of a thing, cannot be said to be without it." If we



quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, quum ex eo quidam jam affecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus venereis; Dii meliora! inquit: libenter vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi. Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere; satiatis vero et expletis jucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is qui non desiderat. Ego non desiderare dico esse jucundius. 48. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus; deinde iis quibus senectus, si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima; sic adolescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum quantum sat est. 49. At illa quanti sunt, animum, tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studii atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute jucundius. Mori paene videbamus in studio

say of a man, 'non desiderat,' then it may be further said, 'non caret;' but these are direct propositions. The words 'cupidis — satiatis,' in this section (47), are capable of being transformed into equivalent expressions with 'qui' and a verb.

*Bona aetas*] The 'bona aetas,' as it is called, is 'adolescentia;' as old age is called a 'mala aetas' in a verse of Afranius, cited by Fulvio Orsini—

"Mala aetas nulla delinimenta invenit."

*Turpione Ambivio*] He was an actor, whose name appears in the 'didascaliae' of the plays of Terence. According to this passage he was

a contemporary of Cato. The Andria of Terence was first acted at the Megalesia, B.C. 166, and the Adelphi, B.C. 160, at the funeral games of L. Aemilius Paulus.

*Prima cavea*] In the front part of the 'cavea.' The 'cavea' was the place in a theatre in which the spectators sat. Comp. De Am. 7.

*Emeritis stipendiis*] A man in old age is aptly compared to a veteran who has served his time in the army, and has retired.

*Mori paene*] The collocation of the words in this passage is according to the emendation of Graevius. A Roman astronomer was rather a rarity. This Gallus is C. Sulpicius Gallus, who served under



dimetiendi caeli atque terrae C. Gallum familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quoties illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quoties nox oppressit, quum mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo nobis ante praedicere! 50. Quid in levioribus studiis sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus! quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui quum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adolescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licinii Crassi et pontificii et civilis juris studio loquar? aut de hujus P. Scipionis qui his paucis diebus Pontifex Maximus factus est? Atqui eos omnes quos commemoravi his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum quem recte Suadae medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae. Quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis

Aemilius Paulus in the Macedonian war, B.C. 168, and predicted an eclipse of the moon to the army (Liv. xlv. 37), telling them that it was a natural event, and merely caused by the earth's shadow.

*Acutis?*] "Lighter pursuits, but still such as sharpen the understanding."

*Naevius!*] From this it may be inferred that Naevius wrote his poem on the Punic war when he was an old man; and that the Pseudolus and Truculentus of Plautus were among the poet's late productions.

*Livium,*] This is Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth, and the first writer of Latin plays. His first play was acted B.C. 240, in the year of the consuls who are

mentioned in the text. The expression "fabulam docere" is said of the poet who wrote the play and looked after its getting up. The actors were said 'discere.' 'Docere' corresponds to the Greek expression διδάσκειν.

*His paucis diebus]* "Within these few days past." See c. 6.

*Atqui]* Some MSS. have 'atque;' but 'atqui' appears to be the true reading. There is another instance in c. 17, "atqui ego omnia ista."

*Bene institutis]* 'Instituto,' as it has been already observed, is often used as a technical term to signify the giving of elementary legal instruction (Dig. i. tit. 2. s. 1. § 43), "Servius plurimum eos de quibus locuti sumus audivit,

pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem; qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse major.

XV. 51. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum quibus ego incredibiliter delector, quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra quae nunquam recusat imperium, nec unquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque majore cum fenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat; quae quum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occoecatam cohibet, ex quo occatio quae hoc efficit nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffindit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem; quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adolescit, culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus quum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. 52. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requiem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acino vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum ac stirpium

institutus a Balbo Lucilio." He means Servius Sulpicius. Persons generally who had received a good foundation of learning were said to be 'bene instituti.'

15. *Nec—et*] This form of expression occurs again in this chapter: "nec modico tepore caret, et."

*Occoecatam*] Some MSS. have 'occatum.' 'Occoeco' is applied by Columella (ii. 2) to covered drains, as opposed to 'patentes,'

'open drains.' 'Occoecare,' must mean that the grain is covered, and, if that is the right reading, we should expect to find 'occoecatio,' not 'occatio.' 'Occo' means to pulverize the earth by drawing hurdles over, or by using a rake or something of the kind. Cicero may have intended to give the etymology of 'occo;' but if he did, he was as unsuccessful as his countrymen often were in such attempts.

minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreat. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonne ea efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem quae natura caduca est et nisi fulta sit fertur ad terram, eadem ut se erigat claviculis suis quasi manibus quidquid est nacta complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia fundatur. 53. Itaque ineunte vere in iis quae relictæ sunt exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva sese ostendit; quae et succo terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit, vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse tum fructu laetius tum adspectu pulchrius? Cujus quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et ipsa natura delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum jugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorumque ea quam dixi aliorum amputatio aliorum immissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam quibus fit multo terra fecundior? 54. Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi, de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit quum de cultura agri scriberet: at Homerus, qui

*Malleoli, &c.*] The explanation of such terms as these must be derived from the Latin agricultural writers, and from the examples cited in Forcellini.

*Hesiodus*] In his poem entitled "Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, "Works and Days." In its present shape there is not much agricultural information to be got out of this poem.

*At Homerus*,] 'At' in this passage appears to be used as in the passage c. 10, 'at Nestoris,' &c.

*Homerus*,] In the Odyssey

(xxiv. 226) Ulysses finds his father somewhat differently employed—

τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐϋκτιμένην  
ἐν ἁλώῃ  
λιστρεύοντα φύττον.

The old man was forking about the vines and clearing them. Not a word about dunging in the original, which has troubled the critics; but Cicero may have understood the passage right. Laertes might be stirring the earth and putting manure in.

multis, ut mihi videtur, ante seculis fuit Laertem lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed etiam hortis et pomariis; tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agricultura solertius.

XVI. 55. Possum persequi multa oblectamenta rerum rusticarum; sed ea ipsa quae dixi fuisse sentio longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rerum rusticarum pro-  
 vinctus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, quum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphasset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis; cujus quidem ego villam contemplans, abest enim non longe a me, admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites quum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare. 56. Poteratne tantus animus non efficere

*Consitiones*] 'Consitiones' is the planting of stocks or young fruit trees. 'Insitiones' is ingrafting, and perhaps putting in eyes also; both which operations were well known to Roman gardeners.

16. *Villam*] A 'villa' is a house out of the city on a farm or piece of cultivated land. The wealthy Romans had their 'villae urbanae,' either detached country houses, or the part of a villa which was inhabited by the proprietor was called 'urbana,' by way of opposition to the 'villa rustica,' the part in which the 'villicus,' or the overseer, resided. 'Solum' is the general term for 'ground.' 'Prae-

dium' is a portion of 'solum.' A piece of ground, taken as a whole, is 'fundus:' a 'locus' is a portion of a 'fundus.' With respect to situation, 'praedia' are 'rustica' or 'urbana.' A building on a 'praedium rusticum' is a 'villa:' on a 'praedium urbanum' it is 'aedes.' A spot of ground in the country without buildings is 'ager:' in a town a place without buildings is 'area.' (Dig. 50, tit. 16, s. 27, 115, 211). The word 'villa' has the appearance of a diminutive, though Varro's implied derivation of it from 'veho' is perhaps a mistake. (De Ling. Lat. v. 35).



jucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes; siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum, cujus dictatoris jussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum appetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in Senatum arcessebantur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam Deorum pertinent; ut, quoniam haec qui-

*In agris]* 'In agris' is in the country, 'ruri.'

*Occupatum]* Some MSS. have 'et occupatum,' and others 'et occupare volentem.' 'Occupatum' may be the better reading. 'Occupo' often means to 'anticipate,' 'to be the first,' and the passage may be rendered: "he cut Ahala short by killing him." A past participle in connexion with a verb often implies an act done before the act which is expressed by the verb.

*Viatores]* A 'viator' was a summoning officer or other functionary who carried a message or summons on public or legal business. The verb 'arcesso' has no connexion with 'arceo,' either in form or sense. It must be compared with 'laccio,' 'facesso,' 'capesso;' and the root is 'ci,' to summon or call. 'Ar' is the preposition 'ad,' as we see in the Bacchanalian inscription 'arfuise,' that is, 'adfuise.' Professor Key refers to Plautus, Truc. ii. 2, 7, for the use of 'ar' by itself. See his

Grammar, 547, 1312.

*Haud scio an]* 'An' is only thus used with 'haud scio,' 'nescio,' 'dubito,' 'incertum.' The expression means that the writer is inclined to adopt the opinion which the dependent clause would express, if it were turned into a direct proposition: "in my opinion, at least I am inclined to that opinion, none can be happier;" whence it appears that the MSS. reading 'nulla,' which Ernesti has adopted, is better than 'ulla,' which Orelli has. Comp. the passages in De Sen. 20; De Am. 6, 12, 14; Ad Q. Fr. 10. Whether the dependent sentence should contain a negation or not, will depend on the fact, whether the proposition which is implied in it is positive or negative. It is possible, however, that there might be something loose in the use of this phrase, for there is nothing in language so variable as the use of the negative. On 'haud scio an,' see Key's Grammar, 1421.



dam desiderant, in gratiam jam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est: abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Jam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditora facit haec supervacanei etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. 57. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatus, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? 58. Sibi igitur habeant arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus: nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum utrum lubebit, quoniam sine his beata esse senectus potest.

*Succidiam*] “*Succidia* ab suis caedendis; nam id primum pecus occidere coeperunt domini et ut servarent sallere.” (Varro, L.L. 110.) Hence ‘*succidia*’ would mean a piece of salted pig. Some salt pig for summer use (*succidia*) was the first necessary; and the garden was the next thing, the second fitch of bacon. But the word does not contain the element ‘su,’ of ‘sus.’ It is from ‘sub’ and ‘caedo,’ something in reserve to cut at. There is a note on this word in the edition of Aulus Gellius (xiii. c. 24) by the two Gronovii.

*Supervacanei*] This appears to be a better reading than ‘*supervacaneis*,’ in which case ‘*operis*’ would be the ablative of ‘*opera*.’ Cato means to say that ‘fowling and hunting,’ which are amusements, matters of leisure labour, if

one might use the expression, give a greater relish to what he has mentioned.

*Clavam—pilam*,] After enumerating other athletic exercises, he mentions the ‘ball,’ ‘pila,’ and the ‘clava,’ or bat with which it was struck, as Manutius would explain it, if the reading ‘*sibi clavam et pilam*,’ is adopted. But two distinct exercises seem to be intended; and the ‘clava’ may mean the military exercise of fighting with a wooden sword against a post (*palus*) fixed in the ground, which Vegetius describes (*De Re Militari*, i. 11).

*Talos—tesseras*,] The ‘tali’ was a game of chance or dice. Augustus, in a letter of his, cited by Suetonius (Aug. 7) speaks of it as an old man’s game, with which he amused himself sometimes: “*inter coenam lusimus γεροντικῶς*—

XVII. 59. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agricultura laudatur in eo libro qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui *Oeconomicus* inscribitur! Atque ut intelligatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, regem Persarum, praestantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, quum Lysander Lacedaemonius vir summae virtutis venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Quum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem

talis jactatis," &c. As to the difference between 'tali' and 'tesserae' see Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, TALUS, TESSERA.

17. *Oeconomicus*] This is one of the most pleasant of the treatises of Xenophon. Cicero translated it into Latin when he was a young man, or made some adaptation of it for the use of the Romans (Orelli's Cicero). The story of Cyrus and Lysander is told in the fourth chapter of the *Oeconomicus*; and it is worth while to compare the free exposition of Cicero with the original.

*Regem*] Cyrus the younger, the brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia. Cyrus was not a king, but he held a government under his brother. (Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 1.)

*Venisset ad eum Sardis*] "Had come to him to Sardis," or, as we say, 'at Sardis;' but in such cases the Latin writers properly refer the motion both to the person and to the place. If a country

also is mentioned as the object of a person's journey and a place in it, both names must be in the accusative case.

*Communem*] Ernesti's reading is 'comem.' But 'communem' is probably the true reading. It signifies a superior's putting himself on a level with his inferiors. Xenophon's expression is φιλοφρονεῖσθαι.

*In quincuncem*] Manutius has an elaborate note on the 'quincunx,' as applied to the mode of planting the vine. The word 'quincunx' signifies "five unciae," of which the numerical representative was V; and when vines were arranged "in quincuncem," if any two vines in the first line were looked at, there would be a vine in the next row occupying, with respect to these two, the same position that the bottom of the V occupies with respect to the two extremities of the letter: thus, VVV.

odorum qui afflarentur e floribus, tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam ejus a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et ei Cyrum respondisse: Atqui ego omnia ista sum dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae. Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram ejus et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse; Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna conjuncta est. 60. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus; nec aetas im-

*Dimensa et discripta;*] Orelli and the editors have 'dimensa et descripta.' If they write 'descripta,' why dont they write 'demensa?' See note on c. 2.

*Auro multisque gemmis*] Compare the description of the dress of the Persians of rank in the Anabasis of Xenophon, i. 5.

*Impedit quo minus*] We might use 'ne' after 'impedio' in this case, and also 'quin.' But 'quin' is not used unless there be a negative with the principal verb, to express the non-existence of the hindrance (Key's Grammar, 1183). In all these expressions there is a form of the relative in the dependent clause; for 'ne' is equivalent to 'ut non.' It is the hypothetical case, expressed in the dependent clause, of which the predication is made. It might be urged that 'aetas' is the subject of which is said 'non impedit;' but there would be no real predication if the sentence ended here; for "age is no impediment," is no complete proposition. "Age is not painful," is a complete proposition. We must then add something to "age is no impediment," as, for instance, "age is no impediment to a man's pursuing agricultural occupations,"

which is the meaning of the sentence in Cicero; and it only remains to analyse it. The sentence is equivalent to "a man is not prevented by age from following agricultural pursuits," which in Latin would be "non impedimur senectute ne *or* quo minus . . . agri colendi studia teneamus." In either form the subjunctive is used; and the subject is not 'age,' nor 'we,' the nominative to 'impedimur;' but it is "the pursuing of agricultural pursuits" which is the matter of the discourse, and of which a judgment or predication is to be made. It would be easy to quote many sentences, in which nobody would doubt about this exposition. In "non dubito quin mirere," it is not the 'doubt' of which the 'not wondering' is predicated; but it is the 'wondering' of which 'not doubt' is predicated. If we wished to predicate 'wonder' of 'not doubting,' we must say, "te dubitare non miror." So if we wish to predicate the persistence in the pursuits of agriculture, without 'let' or 'hindrance' from age, we must first say, "agri colendi studio tenemur;" we must resort to the direct proposition, which contains the subject 'we' and its pre-

pedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, quum esset acta jam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cujus inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis majores nostri ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque ejus extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis plus habebat, laboris minus. Apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. 61. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello! quanta in Atilio Calatino in quem illud elogium unicum: plurimae consentiunt gentes populi primarium fuisse virum. Notum est carmen incisum in sepulcro. Jure igitur gravis

dication. To express the 'let' or 'hindrance,' the predicate must be qualified by such words as "sine impedimento aetatis." Or we must accomplish the same purpose by another proposition, "nec nobis impedimento est senectus," where we have two distinct propositions, which, if they follow one another, produce in the mind a conception, which, in whatever form it is expressed, must involve two propositions. The practical conclusion is this, that in such dependent sentences as we have been considering, the matter of the dependent sentence is the subject of the discourse; and though it involves words of predication, it does not contain a direct affirmation or negation.

*M. Valerium Corvum*] Plutarch, in his life of Marius (c. 28), tells the same story of the age of this veteran, but he makes forty-five years elapse between his two consulships. According to the *Fasti Capitolini*, the first consulship was in B.C. 348, and the

second in B.C. 299, an interval of forty-nine years. Some of the MSS. have 'vitam produxisse' or 'vitam perduxisse.' 'Acta jam aetate' means advanced in years.

*Quantum spatium*] This seems to be explained by a passage of Censorinus (*De Die Natali*, c. 14),—"in tertio gradu qui erant usque quinque et quadraginta annos, juvenes appellatos eo quod rem publicam in re militari possent juvare: in quarto autem adusque sexagesimum annum seniores esse vocatos quod tunc primum senescere corpus incipiat." (Ed. Jahn.) Old age then, according to this, properly began at sixty.

*Carmen*] This word is not limited to poetry. It also signifies a formula, or set form of words (*Liv.* i. 26), a title or inscription, as in this passage. In a passage in Lucretius (*iv.* 376) it signifies a toothed instrument for carding wool, "quasi carmine lana trahatur." The word appears to contain the root 'carp;' and it is used



cujus de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum pontificem Maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum vidimus! Quid de Paullo aut Africano loquar, aut ut jam ante de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata praesertim, tantam auctoritatem ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adolescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. 62. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare quae fundamentis adolescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, Miseram esse senectutem quae

by Virgil in the sense of spinning wool. (Georg. iv. 234.) The primary sense of 'car-men' then, must be derived from the primary sense of 'carp-o.'

*Jure igitur, &c.*] This usage of the subjunctive after 'qui,' is one of the niceties of the language which requires explanation. The sentence may be rendered,—“with good reason then was he esteemed, if the voice of all mankind was unanimous in his praise.” There is no doubt that the clause ‘cujus’ contains an implied affirmation, but the Latin idiom has the power of expressing this indirectly, and we can hardly do it, except by another form of expression. ‘Is’ might be used in this sentence as it is in the first sentence of the following chapter; “eam . . . senectutem quae . . . constituta sit.” Cicero might have expressed himself in this form, “cujus de . . . erat consentiens, is jure gravis.” But then we should have two distinct propositions. As it stands in the text the sentence is a simple proposition: ‘jure gravis’(erat), and the subject of the sentence is what

follows. For it should be observed, that a proposition itself, and such is involved in ‘cujus . . . esset,’ &c., may be the subject of another proposition. Such expressions as the following occur in Cicero (Ad Q. Fr. 4): “sint aures tuae quae id quod audiunt existimentur audire.” There are many sentences in which, if the MSS. readings are right, it would seem almost a matter of indifference or of chance, which of the two forms a Roman writer would prefer; whether he would make a positive assertion in the relative clause by the indicative, or put it in an indirect form by the subjunctive.

18. *Miseram—quae*] The form ‘defenderet’ is used in such expressions, when a speaker’s words are thus cited, it matters not whether by himself or another. But even if the proposition were stated in the direct form, it might be “misera est senectus quae se oratione defendat.” The word ‘oratione’ has been suspected to be an error for ‘canitie;’ but the suspicion has hardly a foundation.



se oratione defenderet. Non cani, non rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt; sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. 63. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgere, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cujus modo mentionem feci, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, quum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, in magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; quum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati quum essent certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse

*Salutari, &c.]* It would be foreign to the purpose of these notes to explain at length each of these words; but they require a particular explanation, which the teacher must give, and the more advanced student must derive it from examples in Forcellini's Lexicon. The construction of the several words is different: 'salutatur aliquis:' but 'alicui deceditur, assurgitur;' that is, we make way for a man, we rise up as he appears. 'Deduco' is the word used to signify accompanying a man when he goes any where, to do him honour. From 'consuli' is formed the word 'consultus,' a man whose advice is sought; and if on legal questions, he is 'juris consultus.'

*Nusquam—tribuitur]* This is the remark of Cicero; if the form were the infinitive, they would be the words of Lysurgus.

*Quin etiam]* These two words are often written as one word, and

translated 'moreover;' but this does not explain the matter. 'Quin' is a form of the relative, with 'ne' at the end of it. We have it at the beginning of a sentence in such expressions as the following, 'Quin conscendimus equos?' (Liv. i. 57,) where it is an interrogative. Such appears to be the original force of 'quin' at the beginning of a sentence, and it may be compared with 'quid quod,' 'quid enim,' and such like expressions. So the full force of 'quin' in this passage would be: "Nay, is it not even told?" But it by no means follows, if this is the true explanation, that the primary sense of the expression was retained in Cicero's time. Such words as these get by use peculiar senses. But 'quin' in this position retains enough of its presumed original meaning to show what that was. It strengthens and confirms what has been said.

omnes et senem illum sessum recepisse. 64. Quibus quum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quendam, Athenienses scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet; neque solum honore antecedentibus sed iis etiam qui cum imperio sunt maiores natu augures anteposuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregissee, nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse. 65. At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari: sed haec morum vitia sunt non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia quae dixi habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem justae sed quae probari posse videatur: contemni se putant, despici, illudi: praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus; idque tum in vita tum in scena

*Collegio*] Cato means the college of augurs. ‘Collegium’ is a collective term, and it comprises those who are ‘collegae.’ It is the abstract term for an association, and one of the terms which signify an artificial person, of which terms ‘universitas’ is the most extensive. Some of these ‘collegia’ were corporations (more properly called artificial persons), in a legal sense.

*Honore*] This is a technical term. The ‘honores’ of the Roman state were the high offices of the Roman state, as the praetorship, consulship. Those who had enjoyed these offices might be said ‘honore antecedere.’ “Qui cum imperio sunt” are those who are

now in the possession of the praetorian or consular honour, who were said to have ‘imperium.’ There was an ‘imperium,’ if we follow the definition of later writers, that had no connexion with ‘jurisdictio;’ and there was an ‘imperium,’ by virtue of which a magistratus had ‘jurisdictio.’ (Dig. 2. tit. i. s. 3; Gaius, iv. 103, &c.) The magistratus were divided into ‘maiores,’ who had the ‘imperium’ (jurisdictio), and the ‘minores,’ who had not.

*Non illius quidem justae*] “Not indeed a complete excuse.” Compare the use and position of the emphatic word ‘ille,’ in De Am. 18, 19.

intelligi potest ex iis fratribus qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero duritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet; ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis aetas vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam sicut alia modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit non intelligo. Potest enim quidquam esse absurdius quam quo minus viae restat eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. 66. Quarta restat causa quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest longe abesse. O miserum senem qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane negligenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. 67. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adolescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo plures quam nostra mortis casus habet; facilius in morbos incidunt adolescentes; gravius aegrotant; tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates essent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod illud est crimen senectutis, quum illud videatis cum adolescentia

*Adelphis*] In the play of Terence called the Adelphi.

*Potest enim quidquam*] It may be said, however, that the old man who is very fond of money, saves for his children or for others whom he wishes to enrich. This is, however, another topic, which would require a chapter.

There is no reason to doubt that 'sum' is the true reading, and not 'sim.' In the De Am. 3, we have, "si . . . me moveri negem, certe mentiar," which means, "if I were to deny, I should certainly lie." But the passage in the text means, "what should I fear, if I am to be either, &c. or, &c."

19. *Quid—timeam, si—sum?*]

*Quum illud videatis*] Some

esse commune? 68. Sensi ego tum in optimo filio meo, tum in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus tuis, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adolescens diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? Senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore conditione quam adolescens, quum id, quod ille sperat, hic [jam] consecutus est. Ille vult diu vivere; hic diu vixit. 69. Quamquam, o Dii boni! quid est in hominis vita diu! Da enim supremum tempus: exspectemus Tartessorum regis aetatem. Fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum et viginti vixit. Sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quidquam videtur in quo est aliquid extremum: quum enim id advenit, tunc illud quod praeteriit effluxit: tantum remanet quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus unquam revertitur, nec quid sequatur sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. 70. Neque enim histrioni ut placeat peragenda fabula est; modo in quocunque fuerit actu probetur; nec sapienti usque ad Plaudite veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis est longum ad bene honesteque vivendum. Sin processeris longius, non magis dolendum est quam agricolae dolent, praeterita verni temporis suavitate, aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adolescentiam sig-

MSS. have 'id,' which is, perhaps, the true reading.

*Arganthonius*] This long-lived king who lived at Cadiz, is mentioned by Herodotus (i. 163, &c.), and other ancient writers; but we need not wonder that they do not all agree as to the years that he attained.

*Veniendum*] Perhaps preferable

to the reading 'vivendum,' if we judge from the context. 'Plaudite' was the usual expression, with which a dramatic representation was closed, as in the last line of the *Andria* of Terence:

"Intus transigetur si quid est quod restet. Plaudite."



nificat ostenditque fructus futuros : reliqua tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. 71. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia vero, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adolescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adolescentes mori sic mihi videntur, ut quum aquae multitudine vis flammae opprimitur: senes autem sicut sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur: et quasi poma ex arboribus, si cruda sunt, vix avelluntur; si matura et cocta, decidunt: sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam jucunda est ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

XX. 72. Omnium aetatum certus est terminus: senectutis autem nullus certus est terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis et tamen mortem contemnere. Ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adolescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, quum illi quae- renti, qua tandem spe fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur Senectute. Sed vivendi est finis optimus, quum integra mente ceterisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut

*Senes autem sicut*] Sophocles (Oed. Tyr. v. 961) expresses in another form the gentle transition of the old man from life to death:

σμηκρὰ παλαιὰ σώματ' εὐνάζει  
ῥοπή.

*Si cruda sunt,*] Some MSS. Orelli has "cruda si sint."

20. *Quoad*] 'Quoad' must be compared with 'adeo.' In both

cases the preposition is joined to the pronominal adverbs 'quo' 'eo.' It is true as a physical fact that there is no fixed limit to the period of old age; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that there is no fixed limit to the duration of life after the time of full maturity has been attained. The preceding periods, infancy and youth, have their limit.

navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Jam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avidè appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit: vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. 73. Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Vult, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

Nemo me lacrumis decoret neque funera fletu  
Faxit.

74. Non censet lugendam esse mortem quam immortalitas consequatur. Jam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus praesertim seni: post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adolescentia debet esse mortem ut negligamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo esse animo nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et id incertum an eo ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens qui

*Injussu imperatoris,*] This opinion, attributed to Pythagoras, is put in the mouth of Socrates in the Phaedon of Plato; and Cicero has imitated the Greek form of expression in comparing a man to a soldier on duty at his post. The Stoics allowed suicide in some cases, but still not without certain restrictions, which Seneca has mentioned. (Epp. 24, 58.)

*Solonis*] The verses of Solon are preserved by Plutarch in his comparison of Solon and Publicola.

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος  
μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισιν  
Καλλείποιμι θανῶν ἄλγεα καὶ  
στοναχάς.

They are thus translated in the Tusculanae Disputationes, i. 49—

“Mors mea ne careat lacrumis:  
linquamus amicis  
Maerorem ut celebrent funera  
cum gemitu.”

*Faxit.*] The form ‘faxo,’ which occurs, is evidently a future ‘fac-so,’ like the Greek λεκ-σω. Faxim (fac-sim) is a form of the subjunctive, which has the same sense as ‘fecerim,’ another and a more usual form. The second verse is given complete in the Tusculanae Disputationes (i. 15):

“Faxit. Cur? volito vivu’ per  
ora virum.”

poterit animo consistere? 75. De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, quum recorder, non L. Brutum qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, non duo Decios qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium qui ad supplicium est profectus ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duo Scipiones qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paullum qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum cujus interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum saepe locum profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se nunquam redituras arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adolescentes et ii quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? 76. Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae certa studia: num igitur ea desiderant adolescentes? Sunt ineuntis adolescentiae: num ea constans jam requirit aetas quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam hujus aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur a senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis: ergo ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis. Quod quum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis affert.

XXI. 77. Equidem non video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo melius mihi cernere videor quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio, tuque C. Laeli, viros clarissimos mihi quae amicissimos vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam quae est

*Non ita longa*] An elliptical expression, probably. However this may be, it means "no very long discussion." Compare Ad Q. Fr. 11: "non ita acerbum videri debet."

*Originibus,*] This is a citation

from the *Origines* of Cato. The same thing is said in the *Tusculanae Disputationes* (i. 42): "Quum legiones scribat Cato saepe alacres in eum locum profectas unde redituras se non arbitrarentur."

21. *Eam quidem . . . quae est*]

sola vita nominanda. Nam dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitaeque contrarium. Sed credo Deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia: Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas.

78. Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati,

Cicero intends a direct affirmation, and of course the indicative must be used. The subjunctive form is equally admissible, but in that case it would not be a direct affirmation. The two Latin forms of expression must not be rendered precisely in the same way.

*Essent qui terras tuerentur,*] ‘Qui terras tuerentur’ is the subject or nominative of ‘essent;’ and the subjunctive form would be used, even if the words ‘qui tuerentur’ were not part of the dependent clause, ‘ut essent.’

The philosophers of antiquity sought for an end or purpose in human existence, and in the intellectual powers given to man. The whole purpose of human existence is unknown, and we may safely conclude that the human mind is not capable of comprehending it. But what is here suggested is worthy of consideration. All things are not made for man, but man’s understanding was given him (among other purposes) that he might be able to contemplate the order of the universe, and to make his own life conformable to this

great example. Such considerations were not peculiar to any sect, but were the opinions of all those whose thoughts were elevated above the common matters of daily life. The excellent emperor, Marcus Antoninus, tells us “to look at the courses of the stars, as if we were carried round with them, and constantly to observe the changes of the elemental particles with respect to one another; for such contemplations purge away the filth of this terrene life” (Med. vii. 47). Anaxagoras, according to Laertius (Anaxag. Vit.), in answer to the question, for what end he was born, said, “to contemplate the sun, the moon, and the heavens.”

*Qui essent*] This depends on ‘audiebam,’ and ‘is qui esset’ in the next sentence is governed by the same principle. After the clause “quae Socrates disseruisset,” the nature of which has been fully explained, ‘is qui’ and their verb must follow the same law.

*Italici philosophi*] Pythagoras established his school at Croton, in south Italy, whence his followers received the name of Italici.



nunquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis judicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, quum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat esse mortalem: quumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia nunquam se ipse sit relicturus; et quum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quidquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non possit, non posse interire: magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod jam pueri, quum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

## XXII. 79. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus

His doctrines are obscurely known, but from such passages as these we collect that they were purely spiritual, and consequently must have been opposed to the material notions which make up the existence of nations generally. The doctrine that the human 'animus' was a portion of the universal intelligence, of God, was very generally received by reflecting persons in antiquity. Whatever objections might be made to this form of expression, it involved one necessary conclusion, that the human 'animus' was imperishable.

*Socrates supremo vitae die*] Cicero alludes to the Dialogue of Plato, called the *Phaedon*, in which Socrates shortly before his death

discourses on the immortality of the soul.

The argument, which follows, is a kind of exposition of a passage in the *Phaedon* of Plato, and it is expounded at still greater length in the *Somnium Scipionis*, and in the *Tusculanae Quaestiones* (i. 23, 27).

22. *Apud Xenophontem*] The passage is in the last book of the *Cyropaedia* (viii. 7), and it will be a useful exercise for a student to make his own Latin version of the Greek, and to compare it with Cicero's version, in which he has omitted some parts. The passage begins, Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πον τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι. The argument of Xenophon for the independent existence of the 'animus,

major haec dicit: "Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me quum a vobis discessero nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim dum eram vobiscum animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus quas gerebam intelligebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. 80. Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem nunquam persuaderi potuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, quum exissent ex iis emori: nec vero tum animum esse insipientem quum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed quum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam quum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedant; abeunt enim illuc omnia unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec quum adest nec quum discedit apparet. Jam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. 81. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim quum remissi et liberi sunt futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intelligitur quales futuri sint, quum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote ut Deum. Sin una est interiturus

for its existence independent of the sensuous form through and by which it acts, may be compared with Butler's argument, "Of a Future Life," in his Analogy.

*Nullum—videbitis,*] That is, "though you will not see me at all." Neither 'eundem' nor 'nullum' refers to 'animum,' as a consideration of the sense of the passage will soon show.

*Dum in corporibus essent*] This use of 'dum' with the subjunctive furnishes a good example of its contrast with 'dum' and the in-

dicative, 'dum eram.'

*Ceterarum rerum—quo quaeque*] This position of a genitive, which is the subject of discourse, is worthy of note: it could not be placed elsewhere. There is a similar ordering of words in c. 23, "ut aliarum omnium," &c.

*Sic me colitote ut Deum.*] The critics complain of Cicero's rendering of the original *τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι*. But his object was not to render literally; nor yet is he far from the mark.

animus cum corpore, vos tamen Deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis."

XXIII. 82. Cyrus quidem haec moriens. Nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo unquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paullum, aut duos avos Paullum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem, aut patruum, aut multos praestantes viros quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se pertinere. [An censes, ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si iisdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quomodo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat quasi quum excessisset e vita tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem gloriae niteretur. 83. Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur animus is qui plus cernat et longius videre se ad meliora proficisci; ille autem

23. *Tanta esse conatos—nisi—cernerent*] Perhaps we should have expected 'conatuos fuisse.' If the reading is right, the use of 'nisi cernerent' is peculiar.

*Is qui plus cernat*] There is a reading 'cernit,' but 'cernat' appears to be the true reading. "Think you not that a mind, if it is one that penetrates more and further, must see that it is going to better things; and, on the other hand, if it is one whose sight is somewhat dulled, that it will not have such a prospect?"

*Ille*] 'Hic' and 'ille' as demonstratives are the two words that generally come in contrast; but there are many examples in Cicero of sentences in which 'is,' as 'one,' is contrasted with 'ille' as 'the other.' Comp. De Or. ii. 72: "eos locos quibus—et illos quibus." Pro Cn. Plancio, c. 3. Terence, Heauton. i. 2, 21: "Qui uti scit, ei bona; illi, qui non utitur recte, mala." 'Ille' has hardly its strict demonstrative use in these pages, except perhaps in the passage from the Pro Plancio. In this case of con-

cujus obtusior sit acies non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros quos colui et dilexi videndi; neque vero eos solum convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audiavi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, neque tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Quod si quis Deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem; nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. 84. Quid enim habet vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane: habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ii docti saepe fecerunt: neque me vixisse poenitet, quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existimem; et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam ex domo. Commorandi enim natura deversorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. 85. O praeclarum diem quum ad illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar, quumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior, cujus a me corpus crematum est, quod contra decuit ab

ditional sentence, the present form of the condition is responded to by the present form of the corresponding member. The English idiom uses this form: "if a deity were to make me the offer, I would reject it." Com. Terence, *Phormio*, ii. 1, 19—

"Quod si tibi res sit cum eo lenone, quocum mi est, tum sentias."

*Ad carceres a calce*] The 'carcer,' or 'place of inclosure,' is the place from which the horses or chariots started in a race:

"Ruuntque effusi carcere currus."

(Virg. *Aeneid*. v. 145.)

The 'meta,' or limit of the course

in the circus was marked with chalk or lime (*creta*, *calx*), that it might be more conspicuous. (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 17, and Harduin's note.) Seneca says (*Ep.* 108), "*Hanc quam nunc in circo cretam vocamus.*"

*Quod contra decuit*] This, or some form of expression like it, was often used on monumental inscriptions. Manutius gives several examples. One is an inscription at Rome:

"Quod decuit natam patri praestare sepulto,

Hoc contra natae praestitit ipse pater."



illo meum ; animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. 86. His mihi rebus, Scipio, id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti, levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta sed etiam jucunda. Quod si in hoc erro quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro ; nec mihi hunc errorem quo delector dum vivo extorqueri volo. Sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum mortui philosophi irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen extinguere homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum omnium rerum sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cujus defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim

Another formula occurs in an inscription in Fabretti, p. 284.

FILIVS • FACERE • QVOD • DE-  
BVERAT • PATRI • MORS •  
INIQVA • INTERCESSIT •  
FILIO • FECIT • PATER.

*Quod si in hoc erro quod—cre-  
dam,*] This differs not at all from the expression in c. 2, “in hoc sumus sapientes quod sequimur,” only in the use of ‘si,’ and that makes no difference, as I believe. If the MSS. may be trusted in such cases, usage was somewhat unsettled as to the indicative or subjunctive following ‘quod.’ But if either passage is to be altered, we should, perhaps, change ‘cre-  
dam’ into ‘credo.’

*Minuti philosophi*] Such as the Epicureans. In the Tusculanae Disputationes (i. 23), he speaks thus of this class : “Licet concurrant

plebeii omnes philosophi, sic enim ii qui a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident appellandi videntur.”

*Tamquam fabulae,*] This comparison of life to a play was a common one. When Augustus was dying, he asked the bystanders if they thought that he had brought the farce (mimus) of life to a fit conclusion. (Sueton. Aug. 99.) The emperor Antoninus (Med. xii. 36) closes his work with some worthier reflections : he compares men, when released from life, to an actor whom the praetor has hired, and dismisses when he has done with him. “But,” says the actor, “I have not gone through the five acts ; I have only gone through three of them. You say well : in life the whole play consists of three acts ; for its limit is determined by him, who, as he

adjuncta satietate. Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam perveniatis, ut ea quae ex me audistis re experti probare possitis.

once framed it, so now dissolves it; but you have nothing to do with either. Go away then content, for he who gave you your dis-

missal is content." Compare De Sen. c. 19, "neque enim histrioni," &c.

THE END.

## LAELIUS.

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THIS treatise was written after the *De Senectute*, but in the same year. It is appropriately dedicated by Cicero to his friend Atticus. The chief speaker is C. Laelius, the friend of the younger Scipio Africanus; and the supposed time of the dialogue is a few days after the death of Scipio (B.C. 129), who was found dead in his bed, and probably was murdered. The story of his death is told by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 19) and by Plutarch (*Life of C. Gracchus*, 10). The treatise, like the *De Senectute*, has the character of an essay rather than of a dialogue, except the introductory part. Though Cicero has taken many maxims, and even forms of expression, from the Greek writers, this treatise on Friendship bears the stamp of originality. It was written by a man who had great experience of life, by a man of a reflecting turn of mind, one who had mingled in some way in public affairs ever since his boyhood; but, above all, it was written by a Roman. The notion of friendship is Roman, not universal; and the treatise, in order to be fully understood, must be looked at with reference to Roman opinions, and with reference to the circumstances of the times; the times in which Laelius lived, and of which he speaks, and those in which Cicero lived, and to which he could only allude under the cover of another name. But though Cicero has not made a perfect treatise on friendship, because he has viewed it as

founded on the Roman notions of virtue, and connected with the Roman ideal of a State, he has handled the matter well, and in an instructive manner. He who would now treat of it from a different point of view, and in a more comprehensive manner, might still derive something from the Roman original.

It is a kind of fashion to print the *Cato Major* and the *Laelius* together. They are both practical treatises, and they have a general resemblance in form. But old age is a much simpler thing to handle than friendship; and those who will carefully read the two treatises, will feel that Cicero found it so. The whole argument of the *Laelius*, and the connexion of the several parts, are much more difficult to apprehend; the best proof of which is, that many passages have been misunderstood by the critics, and, we may safely say, are totally misapprehended by ordinary readers. The teacher who will undertake to read the *Laelius* with a class will find plenty to do, if his exposition is to be of any use to the pupils; for, besides the difficulty in the argument, the matter generally is of a kind that requires a very particular explanation; much more than the plain blunt discourse of *Cato*. This treatise should certainly never be read before the *Cato Major*, nor with it; but after some interval, when the pupils are more advanced. Those who will master it well, will find that they have learned something.

The little that I have done, all that I could do within the limits, may be of some use; and that is all that I can say. After writing my notes I compared them with the very elaborate commentary of Dr. M. Seyffert, Brandenburg, 1844, and by the aid of his notes, most of which are well worth reading, I have been enabled to add some things, to correct others, and sometimes to modify what I had written. Seyffert has also printed the text, and given at



the foot the variations of Madvig and Klotz ; and his commentary contains the opinions of these and other critics on many difficult passages. His commentary is written for a particular purpose, as he explains in his preface ; and with such views as the author had in making it, the notes could hardly be shorter than they are. But they extend to a length, for which philological students in England are not yet prepared. The text of the Laelius in Seyffert's edition is thirty octavo pages ; the commentary is 566 closely-printed pages, besides an index.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

LAELIUS SIVE DE AMICITIA DIALOGUS.

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I. 1. Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio socero suo memoriter et jucunde solebat nec dubitare illum in omni sermone appellare sapientem. Ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut quoad possem et liceret a senis latere nunquam discederem. Itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa [etiam] breviter et commode dicta memoriae mandabam, fierique studebam ejus prudentia doctior. Quo mortuo me ad

1. Q. *Mucius*] Q. Mucius Scaevola, a member of the illustrious family of the Scaevolae, was called the Augur, to distinguish him from Q. Mucius Scaevola, Pontifex Maximus. The Augur married a daughter of C. Laelius, the friend of the younger Scipio Africanus. Cicero, as he tells us here, and in the Brutus (c. 26), was indebted to the Augur for part of his legal and political education. Cicero was born B.C. 106: the 'virilis toga,' or 'man's dress,' might be assumed on the completion of the fourteenth year; but the ceremony was often deferred later. The Augur was living in

B.C. 88; but how much later it does not appear.

*Ita—deductus*] The word 'deduco' was used to signify a father taking his son to a 'jurisconsultus' or 'an orator' to receive his instruction (Tacitus, Dial. de Or. c. 34). The exact rendering of the word 'ita' may cause a little difficulty. It seems to mean something like this: "my father took me to the Augur, with an injunction never to quit him," &c.

*Prudentia*] Mucius was a 'jurisprudens.' See De Sen. c. 9, note; and "prudens in jure civili." (De Am. 2.)

pontificem Scaevolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et justitia praestantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias : nunc redeo ad augurem. 2. Quum saepe multa, tum memini domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, quum et ego essem una et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere qui tum fere [omnibus] erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, quum is tribunus plebis capitali odio a Quinto Pompeio qui tum erat consul dissideret, quocum conjunctissime et amantissime vixerat, quanta esset hominum vel admiratio vel querela. 3. Itaque tum Scaevola, quum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Laelii de amicitia habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genere C. Fannio M. F. paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Ejus disputationis sententias memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitrato meo ; quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne inquam et inquit

*Unum*] ‘Of all others,’ ‘especially.’ The Greek *εἷς* is used the same way. Soph. Aj. 1312.

The Pontifex Scaevola, one of the most illustrious of the Romans, “the most eloquent of jurists, and the most learned jurist among orators” (De Or. i. 39), was murdered B.C. 82, before the altar of Vesta. He was the first Roman who wrote a systematic treatise on the Jus Civile.

*Quum saepe multa*,] Some MSS. add ‘narraret;’ but this is apparently an interpolation. If we supply ‘dicere,’ as some suggest, the difficulty is not removed. The form of the sentence hardly admits of strict grammatical explanation ; but the meaning is clear enough. ‘Multa’ refers to ‘multa narrare.’ “Now I have a recollection of many of his conversa-

tions, and more particularly I remember,” &c.

*Hemicyclio*] The Augur sat in the middle, with his hearers around him. The hemicyclium was a semicircular place to sit in, or in which seats were disposed in a semicircular form.

*P. Sulpicio*] P. Sulpicius Rufus, ‘tribunus plebis,’ B.C. 88, in the consulship of L. Cornelius Sulla, and Q. Pompeius Rufus, who was once his friend, and afterwards his enemy. Sulpicius passed over to the Marian faction. Cicero speaks of him (Brutus, 55) as a most powerful orator.

*C. Fannio M. F.*] That is, ‘Marci filio,’ a common form of abridgement, and of expression in Roman inscriptions.

*Paucis diebus post*] See De Sen. c. 6.

saepius interponeretur, atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo videretur. Quum enim saepe mecum ageres ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res quum omnium cognitione tum nostra familiaritate visa est. Itaque feci non invitus ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo.

4. Sed ut in Catone Majore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam ejus qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset; sic, quum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laelii et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laelii persona visa est quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus autem hoc sermonum, positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium, plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis. Itaque ipse mea legens sic afficior interdum ut Catonem non me loqui existimem.

5. Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia

*Persona*] Gabius Bassus (Gellius, v. 7) derived the word 'a personando' from 'sounding through;' and he explains his etymology by reference to the construction of 'a persona,' or 'mask,' for this was one of the ordinary significations of the word. But this etymology may be safely rejected, though it is difficult to propose another. The word 'persona' was also used to signify a certain 'status,' or condition, which a man fills; and this is its legal sense. A person is not a man simply; it is a man, who holds a certain relation to others, as husband, father, executor, or the like. 'Persona' here means the character or condition of an old man. The 'Laelii persona' is the charac-

ter of Laelius. In the law writers, 'personae' signifies persons, that is, human beings, as invested with a certain character, by which they become objects of law, as opposed to things which are not persons, but either material things, as objects of property, or legal facts, as contracts and the like. Gaius says (Dig. 1. tit. 5. s. 1), "Omne jus quo utimur vel ad personas pertinet vel ad res vel ad actiones;" which is from the Inst. (i. 8), where he adds, "sed prius videamus de personis;" and he then proceeds to treat "de conditione hominum," that is, to treat of the 'jus personarum,' or the law that relates to persons, in the sense above explained.



scripsi. Tum est Cato locutus quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior : nunc Laelius et sapiens, sic enim est habitus, et amicitiae gloria excellens de amicitia loquitur. Tu velim animum a me parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani : ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cujus tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens tu te ipsum cognosces.

II. 6. FANNIUS. Sunt ista, Laeli, nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam nec clarior. Sed existimare debes omnium oculos nunc in te esse coniectos ; unum te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni ; scimus L. Atilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem : sed uterque alio quodam modo ; Atilius quia prudens esse in jure civili putabatur ; Cato quia multarum rerum usum habebat : multa ejus et in Senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur : propterea quasi cognomen jam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo, non solum natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut vulgus sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem qualem in Graecia neminem ; 7. nam qui septem appellantur, eos qui ista subtilius quaerunt in numero sapientium non habent ; Athenis unum accepimus et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo

2. *Habebat* :] It is very difficult to see how 'haberet,' Orelli's reading, is to be defended. The words "multa ejus—ferebantur" are parenthetical.

*Te autem alio quodam—inferiores putes.*] A long and confused sentence, which presents no difficulty in the meaning, but is irregular in its structure. See above, 'scimus . . . esse sapientem.'

*Qui septem—subtilius*] Dio-

genes Laertius (Thales) speaks of these seven worthies ; but there was difference of opinion as to their names, and even as to the number seven. Much of their wisdom was of a practical and political kind, as we may judge from the maxims attributed to them. Those who fixed a very high standard of wisdom, such as the Stoics, refused the seven the name of Wise.

sapientissimum judicatum; hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant ut omnia tua in te posita ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo item ex hoc [Scaevola], quonam pacto mortem Africani feras; eoque magis quod his proximis Nonis, quum in hortos D. Bruti auguris commentandi causa, ut assolet, venissemus, tu non adfuisti qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire. 8. SCAEVOLA. Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum; sed ego id respondeo quod animadverti, te dolorem quem acceperis quum summi viri tum amicissimi morte ferre moderate; nec potuisse non commoveri nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae; quod autem his Nonis in nostro collegio non adfuisses valetudinem causam non maestitiam fuisse. LAELIUS. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere. Nec enim ab isto officio quod semper usurpavi quum valerem abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere ut ulla intermissio fiat officii. 9. Tu autem, Fanni, qui mihi tantum tribui dicis quantum

*Commentandi causa,*] We must suppose that the Augurs met occasionally to deliberate (commentari) on such matters as belonged to their duties; and that the Nonae were a usual day for meeting may be inferred from this passage and from another (De Divin. i. 41).

*Non adfuisti qui—solitus esses*] This is generally rendered, “you were not present, though you were accustomed;” and there is perhaps no objection to it. This use of ‘qui’ in such clauses is much easier to feel and understand, than to explain. ‘Qui—solitus esses’ is evidently to be taken with the subject ‘tu,’ as its exponent, as more particularly determining the predication in ‘non adfuisti;’ and

this is plain in a Latin sentence, for, though it implies an affirmation, the affirmation is subordinate to that contained in the indicative mood.

*In nostro collegio*] ‘In collegio adesse’ was a usual formula, as appears from the inscriptions cited by Manutius. The word ‘nostro’ does not appear in one or two MSS.

*Usurpavi*] ‘Usurpo’ means to ‘use frequently or continuously.’ Compare De Am. 8. ‘Memoriam usurpet.’ It has a peculiar legal sense, which signifies the interruption of Usucapio (Dig. 41. tit. 3. s. 2); but it also is used to signify the preservation of a legal right by the exercise of it.

ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice; sed, ut mihi videris, non recte judicas de Catone. Aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quomodo, ut alia omittam, mortem filii tulit! Memineram Paullum, videram Gallum; sed hi in pueris; Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. 10. Quamobrem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum judicavit. Hujus enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut jam cum utroque loquar, sic habetote.

III. Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam viderint sapientes; sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitrator, nemo unquam erit; ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit. Sed non egeo medicina: me ipse consolor et maxime illo solatio quod eo errore careo quo amicorum decessu plerique angunt. Nihil enim mali accidisse Scipioni puto; mihi accidit si quid accidit. Suis autem incommodis graviter angunt non amicum sed seipsum amantis est. 11. Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non

*Cato in perfecto, &c.*] “In the case of, in the matter of a full-grown man,” &c. as the words ‘in pueris’ show. Cato’s son had been elected praetor before his death ‘praetor designatus.’ He was ‘spectatus,’ that is, he had given proof of his merit. In the Ep. ad Div. (v. 12) there is the expression; “auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri et in rei publicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti,” &c.

3. *Ego, &c.*] ‘Ego’ is used when the ‘I’ is emphatic, and it is placed here in its emphatic position. As to ‘negem,’ ‘if I were to deny,’ ‘mentiar,’ ‘I should lie.’

See De Sen. 19.

*Suis autem*] The place of ‘autem’ is never first in a sentence. Its general sense is that of addition, something further or more. (Key’s Grammar.) Also something in the way of contrast, a meaning not far removed from the other; “quis autem est qui,” &c. De Am. 8.

*Optare vellet,*] “Unless he had conceived the thought of wishing.” Here the meanings of ‘volo’ and ‘opto’ are clearly distinguished. See De Sen. 1. Lambinus finds a difficulty in the expression ‘optare vellet,’ and affirms, that ‘velle’ and ‘optare’ mean nearly the same

est adeptus quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo jam puero habuerant, continuo adolescens incredibili virtute superavit; qui consulatum petiit nunquam, factus est consul bis; primum ante tempus; iterum sibi suo tempore, reipublicae paene sero; qui, duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis huic imperio, non modo praesentia verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis? de pietate in matrem? liberalitate in sorores? bonitate in suos? justitia in omnes? Nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio juvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante quam mortuus est mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen aufert eam viriditatem in qua etiamnum erat Scipio. 12. Quamobrem vita quidem talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria ut nihil posset accedere: moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit. Quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur videtis. Hoc tamen vere licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit illum diem clarissimum fuisse, quum Senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vesperum est a Patri-

thing; wherein he is mistaken, as many examples show; as, for instance, 'audire voluisset,' De Am. 20: 'volunt,' and 'si id volumus,' De Am. 22: and a hundred others.

*Continuo adolescens*] 'Continuus' means 'continuous,' 'uninterrupted;' hence it is used to express one thing immediately following another, as in this passage.

*Sibi suo*] Forcellini compares this with other passages, in which 'suo sibi' occurs, as in the Prologus of the Captivi of Plautus (v. 50), "ita nunc ignorans suo sibi servit patri." But this and

the like passages are manifestly different from the text, which means that he was made consul a second time, and in due time, at the proper time, as regards himself, but almost too late for the state. The two cities are Numantia in Spain, and Carthage.

*Etiamnum*] Some of the MSS. have 'etiam nunc,' and others, 'etiam tunc.' Both the forms, 'etiamnum' and 'etiam nunc,' occur in the printed texts of Latin authors. If 'etiamnum' is right, it is obviously only a euphonic form of 'etiamnunc,' as some editions have it here.



bus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita; ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

IV. 13. Neque enim assentior iis qui haec nuper disserere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri. Plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet vel nostrorum majorum qui mortuis tam religiosa jura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur; vel eorum qui in hac terra fuerunt magnamque Graeciam (quae nunc quidem deleta est tunc florebat) institutis et praeceptis suis erudierunt; vel ejus qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est judicatus,

*Populo Romano, sociis et Latinis,]* Ernesti's reading, "a populi Romani sociis et Latinis," is a gross blunder. The context shows that he was conducted home by the senate, the Roman people, the Socii and the Latini. 'Socii et Latini,' or 'socii nomenque Latinum,' is the usual formula to express the people in alliance with Rome, among whom the 'Latini' held a pre-eminent place, and are therefore specially named. Before the Social War, B.C. 90, the Roman state comprehended Cives Romani, Latini, that is, the citizens of the old Latin towns and the Latinae coloniae, socii or inhabitants of Italy, who did not belong to either of the first two classes, and the provinciales or subjects of Rome beyond the limits of Italy. (Savigny, Zeitschrift für Geschichte. Rechtsw., vol. xi.; and Vermischt. Schrift. vol. i.

*Religiosa jura]* Manutius and some others take 'jura' to be equivalent to 'justa;' but, if they mean 'justa' in the limited sense of funeral rites and ceremonials, they are mistaken. The expression, "tribuere jura mortuis," to "give rights to the dead," is not a strictly correct expression, for a dead man can have no rights, because his personality has ceased to exist; but in a sense, the dead might be considered as having rights, because their monuments and places of sepulture were protected. The word 'religiosa' refers to interment and sepulchres. "Sacrae res," says Gaius (ii. 2), "sunt quae diis superis consecratae sunt; religiosas quae diis Manibus relictæ sunt." A spot of ground (locus) belonging to a man became 'religiosus,' if a body was buried there with his consent. The title in the Digest, 11. tit. 7, 'De Religiosis,' &c. may be consulted. The common heading of a monumental inscription, 'Diis Manibus,' is explained by the passage from Gaius. Compare also Tusc. Disp. i. 12; and De Legg. ii. 22.

4. *Iis qui haec nuper]* Cicero means to refer this remark to the period of Laelius, when the doctrines of the Epicureans began to have some vogue in Rome, doctrines entirely at variance with the old religious feelings.

qui non tum hoc, tum illud, ut in plerisque, sed idem semper, Animos hominum esse divinos, iisque quum e corpore excessissent reditum in coelum patere, optimoque et justissimo cuique expeditissimum. 14. Quod item Scipioni videbatur qui quidem, quasi praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus quum et Philus et Manilius adessent et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica; cujus disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est ut optimi cujusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinculisque corporis, cui censemur cursum ad Deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? Quocirca maerere hoc ejus eventu vereor ne invidi magis quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali. Sensu enim amisso, fit idem

*Ut in plerisque,]* Manutius saw that this was the true reading, and he explained it correctly. Socrates never varied in his opinion on the immortality of the soul; but on other matters, after his fashion, affirmed little or nothing; he chiefly puzzled others. The context clearly shows that this is the right reading; and yet some would have 'ut plerique.'

*De re publica,]* Cicero wrote a treatise *De Re Publica*, which was discovered by A. Mai, and first published by him in 1822. It is a dialogue, and corresponds to the description here given of it. The sixth and last book contains the *Somnium Scipionis*, which up to the time of Mai's discovery was printed as a separate piece; though the whole treatise was said to exist. See the Preface of Petrus Ramus (Ramée) to the *Somnium*

*Scipionis.*

*Quae—dicebat.]* There is no word to which 'quae' grammatically refers, but it refers in meaning to 'immortalitate animorum;' and the passage in the *De Sen.* 3, "quae C. Salinator," &c. may be compared with it. Seyffert cites another example (*Ep. ad Div. ii.* 8): "complures dies nullis in aliis nisi de re publica sermonibus versatus sum, quae nec possunt scribi," &c. The word 'fere' qualifies 'de immortalitate.'

*Sensu enim amisso,]* The beginning of the sentence is a general remark, and does not apply particularly to Scipio. The nominative to 'natus esset' must be supplied from the following clause, 'quem tamen,' &c. "Fit idem quasi" means, "it is just as if a man had never been born." The latter part of the sentence creates

quasi natus non esset omnino; quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas dum erit laetabitur. 15. Quamobrem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim; quocum mihi conjuncta cura de re publica et de privata fuit, quocum et domus et militia communis, et id in quo est omnis vis amicitiae, voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae quam modo Fannius commemoravit fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore. Idque mihi eo magis est cordi quod ex omnibus seculis vix tria aut quatuor nominantur paria amicorum; quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laelii amicitiam notam posteritati fore. 16. FANN. Istud quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed quoniam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris, spero item Scaevolae, si quemadmodum soles de ceteris rebus quum ex te quaeruntur, sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem existimes, quae praecepta des. SCAEV. Mihi vero [pergratum erit]; atque id ipsum quum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevertit. Quamobrem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

V. 17. LAEL. Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse confiderem; nam et praeclara res est, et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum? aut quae in me est

some difficulty, because at first sight it appears as if a particular person, Scipio for instance, were meant, but it may be explained; "and yet we are pleased that a man has been born, and this state will rejoice over his birth, so long as it shall exist." A man of merit is clearly implied.

As to 'idem quasi,' compare De Legg. ii. 21, "eodem loco res sit quasi," &c.

*Aut*] On the difference between 'aut' and 'vel,' see Key's Grammar, 1444. The propositions connected by 'aut' are distinct and different, as in this example; and they may be contradictory, as

facultas? Doctorum est ista consuetudo eaque Graecorum ut iis ponatur de quo disputent quamvis subito. Magnum opus est egetque exercitatione non parva. Quamobrem quae disputari de amicitia possunt, ab eis censeo petatis qui ista profitentur. Ego vos hortari tantum possum ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis. Nihil est enim tam naturae aptum tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas. 18. Sed hoc primum sentio nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse; neque id ad vivum reseco, ut illi qui haec subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere sed ad communem utilitatem parum; negant enim quemquam virum bonum esse nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane; sed eam sapientiam interpretantur quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus. Nos autem ea quae sunt in usu vitaeque communi, non ea quae finguntur aut optantur, spectare debemus. Nunquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientes nostri majores judicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Quare sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum; concedant ut hi boni viri fuerint. Ne id quidem facient. Negabunt id nisi sapienti posse concedi. 19. Agamus igitur pingui Minerva, ut aiunt. Qui ita se gerunt, ita

when 'aut' is repeated: 'aut enim nemo . . . aut ille' (De Am. 2). When 'vel' is used, the difference between the two things is viewed as immaterial, and both may be true, as in 'vel nostrorum majorum vel eorum' (De Am. 4); 'vel in eis,' &c. (De Am. 9.)

This will explain the emphatic use of 'vel' in the sense of 'even,' as in (De Sen. 20), "qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis," &c.

*Nisi in bonis*] 'Except among the good;' and, shortly after, 'nisi sapientem' and 'nisi sapienti.' The use of 'nisi' was in its origin undoubtedly elliptical, but, as hap-

pens in the course of time, the word finally obtained a sense something very like 'praeterquam.'

*Ad vivum reseco,*] This means to 'cut down, or probe to the flesh, to the quick;' a surgical metaphor. Cicero means to say, that he will not too narrowly examine the sense of what he has expressed, or take it in its strictest sense, but in a practical sense.

*Pingui Minerva, ut aiunt.*] A proverb, as the words "ut aiunt" indicate. Minerva, the goddess of the useful arts and liberal sciences, is here used as equivalent to 'ingenium;' and 'pingui Minerva'



vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, aequitas, liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas vel libido vel audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ii fuerunt modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos puteamus, quia sequantur quantum homines possunt naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos ut inter omnes esset societas quaedam, major autem ut quisque proxime accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni: cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit; sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati quod ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest. Sublata enim benevolentia, amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet. 20. Quanta autem vis amicitiae sit ex hoc intelligi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum ut omnis caritas aut inter duo aut inter paucos jungeretur.

VI. Est autem amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divi-

means 'with plain mother wit' as opposed to those who 'haec subtilius disserunt.' Horace (ii. Sat. ii. 3) has the expression "Rusticus, abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva," where Heindorf's explanation is properly rejected by Seyffert.

*Ita natos esse nos ut—societas*] Here it is affirmed that human society is a consequence of man's nature; a necessity, therefore, and not a choice. The absurd modern doctrine of a social contract is implicitly denied. Society, morality, government, law, must exist, always have existed, and always will exist. Cicero says that '*ipsa natura*' has brought together human society, that is, man's con-

stitution or nature—necessitates—human society; and as man's constitution is not his own work, society, government, and law are not his work, but the work of Him who made man's nature what it is. The Emperor Antoninus, whose judgment was as large and just as his morality was pure, says (Med. ii. 1): "we are made for co-operation as feet are, as hands, as eyelids, as the rows of the upper and lower teeth." Compare St. Paul's argument (Ep. to the Romans, xii. 4, 5, &c.) Aristotle (Polit. i. 1) has the fundamental assertion, "that man is naturally a social (*πολιτικόν*) animal."

6. *Amicitia*] 'The perfect agreement of all things divine and

narum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate summa consensio ; qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a Diis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii praeponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc quidem extremum [est] : illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem ; sed haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet ; nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. 21. Jam virtutem ex consuetudine vitae sermonisque nostri interpretemur, nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur ; virosque bonos eos qui habentur numeremus, Paullos, Catones, Gallos, Scipiones, Philos : his communis vita contenta est : eos autem omitamus qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Tales igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet quantas vix quoque dicere. 22. Principio, qui potest esse vita vitalis, ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescat ?

human,' has reference to a Roman division of things into things which directly concern religion, and things which directly concern the ordinary affairs of human life. The Roman notion of marriage is an instance of this (Dig. 23. tit. 21. s. 1) : "nuptiae sunt conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicatio." 'Communicatio' means 'the intercommunion.'

*Haud scio an—nihil*] This is Ernesti's reading, and Madvig's, according to Seyffert. Orelli has 'quidquam.' See De Sen. 16. It is not improbable that Roman usage might be somewhat unsettled in such cases, for the first part of the clause 'utrum' being suppressed, the enunciation of the

second might be carelessly made. I am inclined to think that when the writer intends to give his assent to a negative, as in this instance, the negative should be expressed : and so in De Legg. i. 21, Ad Att. iv. 3, 1, where Orelli has 'nulli.'

*Vita vitalis,*] This is a Greek form of expression βίος βιωτός, of which the negative is βίος ἀβιωτός or οὐ βιωτός : "what life can be worth living, worth calling life ?"

*Conquiescat ?*] Three MSS. quoted by Orelli have "conquiescat." There is no doubt that the sentence, with a very slight alteration, would admit the indicative, that is, if it were intended to affirm something of a life 'quae . . . non conquiescit ;' but here the predicate in the clause "quae . . .

Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Quis esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes qui illis aequae ac tu ipse gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae res quae expetuntur opportunaesunt singulae rebus fere singulis; divitiae ut utare; opes ut colare; honores ut laudare; voluptates ut gaudeas; valetudo ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis: amicitia res plurimas continet. Quoquo te verteris praesto est: nullo loco excluditur: nunquam intempestiva, nunquam molesta est. Itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, pluribus locis utimur quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri, quae tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor qualis eorum qui pauci nominantur fuit. Nam et secundas res splendidiore facit amicitia, et adversas partiens communicansque leviores.

VII. 23. Quumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum praestat omnibus quod bona spe praelucet in posterum nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum enim amicum qui intuetur, tam-

non conquiescat" is in the form of a condition, 'if it does not;' and the clause is entirely subordinate to that which contains the indicative mood. An example of a direct and independent affirmation occurs a little further on in this chapter, "quae tamen ipsa et delectat," &c. The substance of this section (22) is contained in Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.* viii. 1.

*Aequae ac*] 'As much as yourself;' or the expression might be 'aequae atque,' 'ac' being apparently an abbreviation of 'atque.' This form has evidently arisen from an elliptical expression, as in Cicero (*Brutus*, 71): "qui tibi sunt

aequae noti ac mihi," "who are equally known to you and to me." See other examples of 'aequae,' with 'ac,' and 'quam,' in Forcellini.

7. *Quumque—contineat, tum—praestat*] The various reading 'continet' is given by Orelli; and it may be the true reading. The treatise "*De Natura Deorum*," in Orelli's text, begins thus: "Quum multae res in philosophia nequam satis adhuc explicatae sint, tum perdifficilis, . . . quaestio est de natura deorum," where several MSS. have 'sunt.'

*Bona spe praelucet*] Orelli has "bonam spem."

quam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et imbecilli valent, et, quod difficilius dictu est, mortui vivunt; tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prosequitur amicorum. Ex quo illorum beata mors videtur, horum vita laudabilis. Quod si exemeris ex rerum natura benevolentiae conjunctionem, nec domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit; ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intelligitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest. Quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis atque dissidiis funditus possit everti? ex quo quantum boni sit in amicitia judicari potest.

24. Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales et intelligunt et re probant. Itaque si quando aliquod officium extitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitibus et amici mei M. Pacuvii nova fabula; quum ignorante Rege uter eorum esset Orestes, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur; Orestes autem, ita ut

*Agrigentinum*] He means Empedocles, who expounded his theological and physical doctrines in hexameter verse. He wrote a didactic poem on nature. The fragments of his works have been collected and expounded by modern scholars (F. W. Sturz, 1805, and S. Karsten, 1838). A short exposition of the Doctrines of Empedocles is given by Brandis in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography. The associating principle of all things, according to Empedocles, was

φιλότης, friendship; the dissociating principle, νῆκος, discord.

*M. Pacuvii*,] Pacuvius, a native of Brundisium, was probably born about B.C. 220, and therefore was a contemporary of Ennius, whose kinsman he is also said to have been. He was one of the most distinguished of the Roman tragic writers.

*Nova fabula*,] The 'Dulorestes,' an imitation or adaptation of the 'Iphigenia in Tauris' of Euripides. Orelli omits 'eorum.'



erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta: quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, quum homines quod facere ipsi non possent id recte fieri in altero judicarent. Haec mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem potuisse dicere. Siqua praeterea sunt, credo autem esse multa, ab iis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant quaeritote. 25. FANN. Nos autem a te potius: quamquam etiam ab istis saepe quaesivi et audivi non invitus equidem, sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae. SCAEV. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, quum est de re publica disputatum, adfuisses. Qualis tum patronus justitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili! FANN. Facile id quidem fuit

*Stantes*] Does not mean that the spectators had no seats; for if they had none, it would be an idle word. It means that they were so excited that they rose or stood.

*Quum homines, &c.*] The use of 'quum,' with the imperfect subjunctive, to denote a persistent state or condition of things, with the imperfect or perfect in the direct proposition, can hardly be misunderstood. (De Sen. 1, 4, 5, 6, &c.) The use of the subjunctive 'possent' by no means necessarily follows, from the fact of its being a part of the clause 'quum;' for "quod facere non possent" does not mean what they had found themselves unable to do, but what, in like circumstances, they would not be able to do. Comp. De Am. 8: "Quippe quum propter virtutem et probitatem eos etiam quos nunquam vidimus quodam modo diligamus."

*Aliud quoddam filum*] After 'quoddam,' Ernesti, following some MSS., has 'expetimus,' and others 'expectamus,' which is as manifest an example of the inser-

tion of an idle word as we can find; besides, it spoils the sense. Neither is the verb 'est' wanted here. He means to say, that the thread of your discourse is something different; you handle the matter in a different way. The use of the term is derived from spinning: the thread may be coarse or fine, weak or strong. Horace has an expression which is an apt illustration (ii. Ep. i. 225): "tenui deducta poemata filo." Comp. Cic. De Or. iii. 26.

*Accuratam orationem*] 'Elaborate,' 'laboured;' the Greek ἀκριβής: as in the expressions 'accuratus sermo,' and the like; an example of the necessity of keeping clear of many English words which, though derived from the Latin, have not yet the exact meaning of the Latin. L. Furius Philus, one of the speakers in the De Re Publica, is characterized by Cicero (Brutus, 28) as one who was considered to speak Latin very well, and to have more literary acquirements than his contemporaries.

justitiam justissimo viro defendere. SCAEV. Quid amicitiam? Nonne facile ei qui ob eam summa fide constantia justitiaque servatam maximam gloriam ceperit?

VIII. 26. LAEL. Vim hoc quidem est afferre. Quid enim refert qua me ratione cogatis? Cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, praesertim in re bona, quum difficile est tum ne aequum quidem obsistere. Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut in dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata, princeps est ad benevolentiam conjungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab iis percipiuntur saepe qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa: in amicitia autem nihil fictum, nihil simulatum; et quidquid est, id et verum et voluntarium. 27. Quapropter a natura

8. *Quid—refert*] On this form 'refert,' which appears to contain the crude form of 'res,' see Key's Grammar.

*Ratione*] 'Rogatione,' Ernesti, manifestly a blunder.

*Illud considerandum*] The use of 'illud,' referring to a proposition which follows, may be explained by other passages: Ad Q. Fr. 11, "simul et illud," &c.; 13, "quare illud non suscipiam," &c.; 15, "simul et illud cogita," &c.; and De Am. 14, "quod si etiam illud addimus," &c. In place of 'utrum propter,' Ernesti and some MSS. have 'num;' and it appears that 'num,' followed by 'an,' can be thus used. (De Sen. 6.)

*Quapropter a natura*, &c.] 'Quapropter' is only another form

of 'quae propter,' and correlative with 'propterea.'

Cicero's explanation that friendship proceeds rather from 'nature' than from a want of something, is true, but hardly well expressed. All want is natural, that is, a part of our nature. But he means to say that there is a natural feeling of affection, independent of any calculation of profit. We love, without considering the profit or advantage of the love; and the affection is satisfied and has its fulness in itself. He means to say, that we have certain feelings, such as love of a person, in which there is mingled no element of self interest as their foundation or origin. In the beginning of his *Metaphysica*, Aristotle says: "All men naturally

mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia, applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi quam cogitatione quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest, quae ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur ut facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo est evidentius: primum ex ea caritate quae est inter natos et parentes, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest: deinde, quum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus cujus cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur. 28. Nihil est enim amabilius virtute; nihil quod magis alliciat ad diligendum: quippe quum propter virtutem et probitatem eos etiam

(*φύσει*, natura) seek to know; and the evidence of it is the love of our sensations; for even independent of the utility, they are loved for their own sake, and chief of all the sensation that we have through the eyes: for it is not only in order that we may act, but even though we design no act at all, that we choose to see in preference, as one may, to other things." So of the affections. It is an error of some who have expounded a selfish or self-regarding system, to suppose that man has no moral affections independent of the utility that he may derive from them. Benevolence, for instance, is perfect and complete: it gives pleasure to the benevolent man, but its origin is not in the calculation of this pleasure, though a wise man may reasonably cherish the feeling from a knowledge of the pleasure and advantages that it gives (De Am. 9). Those who would avoid some of the false philosophy that infects modern as well as it did ancient

times, should consider this matter, and they will be helped by the reading of Bp. Butler's preface to his sermons. Those who (De Am. 9) make love have its origin in interest or calculation of interest, do not merely give it a mean origin, as Cicero says, for that would in itself be no objection to the opinion, but they give it a false origin; they affirm that to be true, which observation shows us not to be true. They simply falsify a fact. This is stated clearly (De Am. 9), "Sic et utilitates," &c.

The example of animals is cited to show that even they have certain affections, which are founded on no calculation or estimate of advantage. Comp. Aristotle, Eth. Nicom. viii. 1.

*Quippe quum*, &c.] 'Quippe,' contains 'qui,' and a termination 'pe,' which may be only another form of the word 'qui.' This word is often used alone with the indicative; and in conjunction with other words, 'qui,' for instance,

quos nunquam vidimus quodam modo diligamus. Quis est qui C. Fabricii, M'. Curii non cum caritate aliqua et benevolentia memoriam usurpet, quos nunquam viderit? Quis autem est qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia decertatum est, Pyrrho et Annibale. Ab altero propter probitatem ejus non nimis alienos animos habemus; alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.

IX. 29. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est ut eam vel in eis quos nunquam vidimus, vel, quod majus est, in hoste etiam diligamus, quid mirum si animi hominum moveantur, quum eorum quibuscum usu conjuncti esse possint virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto et consuetudine adjuncta; quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo: quam si qui putant ab imbecillitate proficisci, ut sit per quem assequatur quod quisque desideret, humilem sane relinquunt et minime generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiae quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque mini-

with the subjunctive: with 'quum' also with the subjunctive, as in this passage. It is very difficult to render such a word, simply because by itself it has no exact meaning. It seems to mean here, "since in a manner," &c., or the like. Comp. Cic. Ad Att. x. 3, 'quippe quum.'

*Quos nunquam viderit?*] This does not mean "whom he never saw:" it means "though or if he never saw them." It affirms nothing as to seeing or not seeing. What the first part of the sentence affirms is true of those who had

seen as well as those who had not seen these two men. The clause 'quos—viderit' is a subjunctive, because the form of the sentence, 'quis est,' &c., shows that a direct affirmation is not intended. Comp. De Am. 9, "quos nunquam vidimus."

9. *Conjuncti esse possint*] 'Possint' the reading of some MSS. Orelli has 'possunt.'

*Quod si ita esset, &c.*] This and what follows is a complete answer to the assumed selfish origin of love or friendship.



num in se esse arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus: quod longe secus est. 30. Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit, et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est ut nullo egeat suaeque omnia in se ipso posita iudicet, ita in amicitias expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim Africanus indigens mei? Minime hercle: ac ne ego quidem illius; sed ego admiratione quadam virtutis ejus, ille vicissim opinione fortasse nonnulla quam de meis moribus habebat me dilexit; auxit benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causae diligendi profectae. 31. Ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus non ut exigamus gratiam, neque enim beneficium feneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus; sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis ejus fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. 32. At ii qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt: nec mirum. Nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abjecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quamobrem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus: ipsi autem intelligamus naturae gigni sensum diligendi et benevolentiae caritatem facta significatione probitatis; quam qui appetiverunt applicant sese et propius admovent ut et usu ejus quem diligere coeperunt fruantur et moribus, sintque pares in amore et aequales, propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reponendum. Atque haec inter eos fit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur, et erit ejus ortus a natura quam ab imbecillitate et gravior et verior. Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutina-ret, eadem commutata dissolveret. Sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiae videtis, nisi quid ad haec forte vultis. FANN. Tu vero

perge, Læli. Pro hoc enim qui minor est natu meo jure respondeo. 33. SCAEV. Recte tu quidem. Quamobrem audiamus.

X. LAEL. Audite ergo, optimi viri, ea quae saepissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur: quamquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitae permanere. Nam vel ut non idem expediret incidere saepe, vel ut de republica non idem sentiretur: mutari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis aetatis, quod summi puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga ponerentur: 34. sin autem ad adolescentiam perduxissent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriae conditionis, vel commodi alicujus quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quod si qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe labefactari si in honoris contentionem incidissent: pestem enim majorem esse nullam in amicitiiis quam in plerisque pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriae; ex quo inimicitias maximas saepe inter amicissimos exstitisse. 35. Magna etiam dissidia et plerumque justa nasci, quum aliquid ab amicis quod rectum non esset postularetur, ut aut libidinis

10. *Praetexta*] The dress with a broad purple band or hem, which marked the condition of 'pueritia.' The 'praetexta' was said 'poni,' and the 'toga virilis' was said 'sumi' (De Am. c. 1). Orelli omits 'toga,' though the best MSS. have it. It is true that 'toga' is generally omitted when 'praetexta' is used.

*Uxoriae*] All the MSS. seem to have 'luxuriae,' which Manutius tries to explain; but it is an obvious error, and has originated in the 'l' of the preceding word. The

"contentio uxoriae conditionis" is the rivalry in a matrimonial affair. 'Conditio' itself may be used to signify a marriage affair, where the context makes it clear what kind of a 'conditio' or 'terms of agreement' are intended (Liv. iii. 45). But there would be no meaning here unless the 'conditio,' about which the contest was, were explained. The matter is a woman for wife, and the dispute is who shall have her.

ministri aut adjuutores essent ad injuriam. Quod qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, jus tamen amicitiae deserere arguerentur ab iis quibus obsequi nollent; illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postulatione ipsa profiteri omnia se amici causa esse facturos: eorum querela inveteratas non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, sed etiam odia gigni sempiterna. Haec ita multa quasi fata impendere amicitiae ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiae sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

XI. 36. Quamobrem id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Num, si Coriolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuerunt? Num Viscellinum amici regnum appetentem, num Sp. Maelium debuerunt juvare? 37. Ti. quidem Gracchum rem publicam vexantem a Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. At C. Blossius, Cumanus, hospes familiae vestrae, Scaevola, quum ad me qui aderam Laenati et Rupilio consulibus in consilio deprecatum venisset, hanc ut sibi ignoscerem causam afferebat, quod tanti Ti. Gracchum fecisset ut quidquid ille vellet sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego, Etiamne, inquam, si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet? Nunquam, inquit, voluisset id quidem. Sed, si voluisset? "Paruissem."

*Felicitatis*] 'Felicitas' is good fortune. Sulla called himself 'Felix,' the fortunate (εὐτυχής).

11. *Viscellinum*] Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, whose alleged designs and death are told by Livy (ii. 41); and those of Sp. Maelius (iv. 13). The story of Tiberius Gracchus, and of his friend C. Blossius, is told by Plutarch in his Life of Tiberius Gracchus, who may have had this passage of Cicero, as well as others, before him.

*Aderam . . . in consilio*] This

word 'adesse' is the usual word in such and like cases. See De Am. c. 2. 'Adesse in consilio' means to be present at a deliberation; and hence 'consilium' is also used to express such a body of persons, summoned for any deliberation. We have such expressions as "de consilii sententia," pursuant to the opinion of a consilium.

*Sed, si voluisset? "Paruissem."*] This is, perhaps, a better pointing than the usual one; "sed si voluisset, paruissem."

Videtis quam nefaria vox. Et hercle ita fecit; vel plus etiam quam dixit; non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius furoris sed ducem praebuit. Itaque hac amentia, quaestione nova perterritus, in Asiam profugit, ad hostes se contulit, poenas rei publicae graves justasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati si amici causa peccaveris; nam quum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere si a virtute defeceris. 38. Quod si rectum statuerimus vel concedere amicis quidquid velint vel impetrare ab iis quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem sapientia simus, si nihil habeat res vitii: sed loquimur de iis amicis qui ante oculos sunt, quos vidimus aut de quibus memoriam accepimus, quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxime qui ad sapientiam proxime accedunt. 39. Videmus Papum Æmiliū C. Luscino familiarem fuisse, (sic a patribus accepimus,) bis una consules, collegas in censura: tum et cum iis et inter se conjunctissimos fuisse M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium memoriae proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus quemquam horum ab amico quidpiam contendisse quod contra fidem, contra jusjurandum, contra rempublicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid attinet dicere, si contendisset, impetraturum non fuisse, quum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aequae autem nefas sit tale aliquid et facere rogatum et rogare? At vero Ti. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tunc quidem Caius frater, nunc idem acerrimus.

*Nunc idem acerrimus.*] Laelius is speaking as a contemporary. Immediately after the death of Ti. Gracchus, his brother Caius kept quiet, as Plutarch says. At the time of the death of Scipio (B.C. 129), in which year the dialogue is

supposed to have taken place, Caius was one of the commissioners for the division of land, under his brother's agrarian law, and Scipio's opposition to the execution of the law was probably the cause of his death.



XII. 40. Haec igitur lex in amicitia sancitur ut neque rogemus res turpes nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda, quum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicae. Deflexit jam aliquantulum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo majorum. Ti. Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses. 41. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui quid in P. Scipione effecerint sine lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem quoquo modo potuimus propter recentem poenam Ti. Gracchi sustinuimus. De C. autem Gracchi tribunatu quid exspectem non libet augurari. Serpit

12. *Lex—sancitur*] Cicero is using the technical words of legislation, which he applies to the terms which should be observed in friendship. 'Sancire legem' is not simply to make a law; it is to insert in it that which gives to the law its efficacy, some penalty or consequence which follows its violation, or non-observance. In the Institutiones of Justinian (ii. tit. 1. s. 10) it is said: "ideo et legum eas partes quibus poenas constituimus adversos eos qui contra leges fecerint sanctiones vocamus." (Inst. ed. Schrader.) Compare Cicero, Pro Balbo, 14; De Legg. ii. 6, 7.

*Vel regnavit is*] The conduct of Tiberius in depriving C. Octavius of the tribuneship was a violent measure; but to use the term 'regnavit' is an historical falsification, if we take it in a literal sense. Cicero, in the early part of his life, before he was 'nobilis,' spoke in very different terms of the

Gracchi from those which he used afterwards. When he delivered his oration against Rullus (ii. 5), just after he had been elevated to the consulship by the favour of the people, he spoke of the Gracchi and their designs in terms of approbation.

*In P. Scipione*] P. Scipio Nasica is meant, and some MSS. have Nasica, or Nasicam. Nasica, who was Pontifex Maximus, led the Senatorian party in the affray, which ended with the death of Ti. Gracchus, B.C. 133. The Senate afterwards sent him into Asia on a mission, to be out of the way of the popular indignation, and he died there. (Plut. Life of Tib. Gracchus.)

*De C. autem Gracchi*] C. Gracchus was not tribune until B.C. 123, and accordingly Laelius, who is represented as saying this in B.C. 129, must refer to his supposed design to obtain the tribuneship.

deinde res, quae proclivius ad perniciem quum semel coepit labitur. Videtis in tabella jam ante quanta facta sit labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre jam videor populum a senatu disjunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent quemadmodum haec fiant quam quemadmodum his resistatur. 42. Quorsum haec? Quia sine sociis nemo quidquam tale conatur. Praeciendum est igitur bonis ut, si in ejusmodi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment ita se alligatos ut ab amicis in re publica peccantibus non discedant: improbis autem poena statuenda est; nec vero minor iis qui secuti erunt alterum, quam iis qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle? quis potentior? qui quum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberasset, propterque invidiam in exsilium isset, ingratae patriae injuriam non tulit quam ferre debuit. Fecit idem quod xx annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adjutor contra patriam inventus est

*Tabella—labes,*] The word 'labes' is explained by 'labitur.' 'Labes' is 'a falling,' 'a giving way of the earth' (De Divin. i. 35); other senses are secondary meanings. The word 'tabella' refers to the 'tabellariae leges,' or the enactments respecting secret voting, voting by a 'tabella' or 'ballot.' The first 'lex' was the Gabinia, B.C. 139, which established the vote by ballot in the election of magistrates; and Cicero (In Rullum, ii. 2, delivered B.C. 63) calls this 'lex,' "vindex tacitae libertatis." He had changed his opinion now. The Cassia Lex (B.C. 137) established the vote by ballot in the Judicia Populi, or trials in the Comitia, as most critics now explain it. Laelius does not mention the Papiria Lex, which

established the use of ballot in the voting for or against a law; and yet B.C. 131 is the date generally assigned to this Lex. The whole of this passage, 'Deinde,' &c. presents great difficulties. Seyffert has a long note on it. 'Serpit deinde' is, perhaps, a better reading than 'Serpit enim.' It seems to mean, "in the next place a matter is slowly making its way," &c.; and he explains himself by referring to the 'Leges Tabellariae.' The expected tribuneship of C. Gracchus was a danger; and there was another equally threatening, the 'Tabellariae Leges.'

*In exsilium isset,*] Ernesti has 'missus esset.' His story, and his inglorious end, are told by Plutarch (Life of Themistocles) and Thucydides, i. 136, &c.

nemo: itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit. 43. Quare talis improborum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiae tegenda non est, sed potius omni supplicio vindicanda, ut ne quis [sibi] concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi. Quod quidem, ut res coepit ire, haud scio an aliquando futurum sit. Mihi autem non minori curae est qualis res publica post mortem meam futura sit quam qualis hodie sit.

XIII. 44. Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciat ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus; ne expectemus quidem dum rogemur; studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit: consilium vero dare audeamus libere; plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. 45. Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam: sed nihil est quod illi non persequantur suis argutiis: partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus; satis superque esse suarum cuique rerum, alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel adducas quum velis vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem qua frui non possit animus, si tamquam parturiant unus pro pluribus. 46. Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius, quem locum breviter perstrinxi paullo ante, praesidii adjuvmentique causa, non benevolentiae neque caritatis, amicitias

13. *Partim fugiendas, &c.*] The resemblance between this passage and one in Euripides (*Hippolytus*, v. 252), seems to show that Cicero must have had it in his mind, for he was familiar with the plays of Euripides. It is one of these 'argutiae,' or subtleties, of which

many examples occur in this dramatist.

χρῆν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους  
φιλίας θνατοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι, &c.

Some critics suppose that Euripides is here using a Socratic irony. Hardly so, I think.

esse expetendas; itaque ut quisque minimum firmitatis habeat minimumque virium, ita amicitias appetere maxime: ex eo fieri ut mulierculae magis amicitiarum praesidia quaerant quam viri, et inopes quam opulenti, et calamitosi quam ii qui putantur beati. 47. O praeclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a Diis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil jucundius. Quae est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo. Itaque videas rebus injustis justos maxime dolere, imbellibus fortes, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis. 48. Quamobrem si cadit in sapientem animi dolor, qui

*Tollere videntur*] This should be translated "must be considered to be doing the same as if," &c. 'Videntur' implies no doubt. It is the usual formula for expressing the general opinion, as we see in the responsa of the Roman lawyers, who use the term not to express that such or such an opinion may be so, but that it is the received opinion.

*Reapse*] This is 're ipsa,' and either a mere euphonical variation, or the addition of 'apse' or 'pse,' equivalent to 'ipse,' but without any case ending. Lucretius (ii. 659) has "dum ne sit re tamen apse." (But see Forbiger's ed.) There is 'eampse,' and the word 'siremps' which occurs in an inscription in Frontinus (*De Aquaeductibus*) as a nominative case. Cicero (*De Re Publ.* iii. 8) has

'sepse,' equivalent to 'se ipsa.' This form 'sepse' is mentioned by Seneca (*Ep.* 108). 'Multis locis,' for many reasons.

*Quod si curam fugimus,*] There is more in the argument than a careless reader may see. If we make the pursuit of happiness our direct object, so far as we can, it appears consistent with the doctrine to avoid all that shall give us trouble or uneasiness. I do not say that the theory necessarily must be so expounded, or that it is so expounded by those who expound it best; but the vulgar and the practical exposition will be this. But if we found our lives on the principle of absolute obedience to certain rules of life, the question of avoiding pain, trouble, or even death, will not arise, when



profecto cadit, nisi ex ejus animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitramur, quae causa est cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest, motu animi sublato, non dico inter hominem et pecudem, sed inter hominem et saxum aut truncum aut quidvis generis ejusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream quandam esse volunt, quae quidem est quum multis in rebus tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incommodis contrahatur. Quamobrem angor iste qui pro amico saepe capiendus est non tantum valet ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia nonnullas curas et molestias afferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Quum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat ad quam se similis animus applicet et adjungat, id quum contingit, amor exoriatur necesse est. 49. Quid enim tam absurdum quam delectari multis inanibus rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis, animo autem virtute praedito eo qui vel amare, vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque jucundius.

the rule of duty is positive. We obey the rule absolutely.

*Humanitatem*] 'Humanitas' here means the natural feelings and affections, part of a man's nature.

*Diffundatur, &c.*] 'Diffundantur . . . contrahantur,' some MSS. and Ernesti. Seyffert has the plural, and affirms that all the MSS. have the plural, except one of Manutius: but Orelli's various readings contradict him. Seyffert admits that 'amici' is the genitive, as it undoubtedly is. He conjectures that 'animi' has been omitted after

'amici.' It seems pretty clear that 'virtus' is the nominative: 'virtus' is not 'dura,' &c. but 'tenera,' 'tractabilis,' 'ut,' &c. 'Esse volunt;' Orelli omits 'esse.'

14. *Quum—contrahat*] The nominative seems to be 'animus,' as appears from what follows.

*Redamare*] In this word, and 'redeo,' and others, the 'd' is not inserted by 'epenthesis,' or any other grammatical fiction. The word is 'red,' and the 'd' is dropped before some consonants, as in 'reperio,' &c.

50. Quod si etiam illud addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et tam attrahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo, concedetur profecto verum esse ut bonos boni diligant adsciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate conjunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui, nihil rapacius, quam natura. Quamobrem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constat, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non est enim inhumana virtus neque immunis neque superba, quae etiam

*Virtus—quae—soleat;*] Seyffert explains the subjunctive ‘soleat,’ by saying that it was the author’s object to indicate the predicate of ‘virtus,’ not as an accidental thing, but as a fact determined by an inward necessity; so that ‘quae soleat,’ &c. signifies ‘in whose nature it lies, that it is wont.’ If ‘quae soleat’ is the true reading, and I see no reason why it may not be, we must determine the meaning of this subjunctive by the usage of Cicero. He might have said “virtus quae populos universos . . . solet, non est inhumana;” but he would not have said the same thing. If the direct form is used, there are two direct predications of ‘virtus;’ first, that ‘virtus tueri solet,’ and next, that it is not ‘inhumana;’ and though these two propositions are independent, the mind of the speaker and of the hearer views them in a logical connexion, of which the ‘non inhumana’ is a conclusion. But Cicero means something else; which he shows, first, by postponing the clause ‘quae etiam populos;’ for the position of this clause has an effect on the mean-

ing; and, secondly, by adopting a form which is not the direct affirmation. The meaning of the whole is this; for it behoves a man to show how he understands such a passage if he rejects the common interpretation.—For virtue is not opposed to the natural affections, does not refuse to discharge its duties, and is not high-minded, if we can say that it protects whole peoples and provides best for their interest, which in truth it would not do, if it were devoid of affection to mankind in general.—He had laid down the position, ‘eadem bonitas ad multitudinem pertinet;’ and that is the foundation of the argument in this sentence; for virtue is not ‘inhumana,’ if that be true; and he again affirms by implication that it is true “quod non faceret.” If any one supposes that these subjunctive clauses, so placed, are equivalent in any way to indicative clauses, he mistakes the whole nature of a Latin sentence. It is somewhat hazardous to cite instances; for the common answer is that they are not in point; and the forms of these subjunctive clauses are extremely

populos universos tueri eisque optime consulere soleat; quod non faceret profecto, si a caritate vulgi abhorreret. 51. Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat; tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, jucundum, si cum studio est profectum: tantumque abest ut amicitiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ii qui opibus et copiis maximeque virtute praediti, in qua plurimum est praesidii, minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haud scio an ne opus sit quidem nihil unquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si nunquam consilio, nunquam opera nostra nec domi nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam consecuta est.

various. I leave the student to judge for himself. What I insist on is that these forms seldom, if ever, contain a direct affirmation or negation: it is an affirmation or negation dependent, conditional, or in some way limited.

*Immunis*] Not 'immanis.' Ernesti's reading 'immanis' may seem to be recommended by the word 'superba,' which follows; but 'immunis' is recommended by 'inhumana,' for virtue is not inconsistent with the natural affections; nor a thing that refuses to discharge its duties, nor high-minded. 'Virtus' must be 'communis' (De Am. c. 18, "communem et consentientem") not 'immunis.'

*Atque haud scio, &c.*] There is a reading 'sciam,' and some critics would make a distinction between 'haud scio an' and 'haud sciam an,' &c. Cicero means to admit that the discharge of mutual

offices may be a necessary thing in friendship; for if the occasions did not arise, there would hardly be room for the exercise of friendship. But interest is not the origin of friendship; it follows it. The sentence is confused, owing to the negatives. "Haud scio an" seems to mean "I am not sure if it be not even fitting that friends should have all their wants supplied by one another; and that this may happen, occasions must arise, they must feel wants (egere)." If, instead of expressing himself thus, he had said, "that it is, perhaps, even necessary that friends should feel the want of mutual help, and have their wants mutually supplied, for otherwise friendship would hardly have matter to exercise itself on," he would seem to us to have spoken more clearly. Seyffert has explained this passage correctly, I believe, if I understand him right.

XV. 52. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffuentes audiendi, si quando de amicitia quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam disputabunt. Nam quis est, pro Deum fidem atque hominum, qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec est enim tyrannorum vita, in qua nimirum nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia; omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae. 53. Quis enim aut eum diligat quem metuat, aut eum a quo se metui putet? Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus. Quod si forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderint, tum intelligitur quam fuerint inopes

*Qui velit, ut*] This may be rendered "who is there who would choose on the condition of neither loving nor being loved?" &c. where 'ut' may be considered to express 'terms' or 'conditions.' But the sentence is only another form of a more common expression 'ita circumfluere,' &c. 'ut neque diligat,' &c.

*Metuat,—putet?*] Some MSS. and Ernesti have 'metuit,'—'putat.' But there is no affirmation of any person being feared. The proposition without the interrogation, is simply this, "nemo est qui diligat quem metuat:" "a man cannot love and fear;" or "who can love when or if he fears?"

*Dumtaxat*] This strange looking adverb, as it is called, is rightly explained by Priscian to be formed of 'dum' and 'taxat,' a frequentative form from 'tango.' 'Taxo' means 'to keep touching,' a repetition of the act of touching. It also got the sense of estimating and fixing damages; as in the formula, when a sum was fixed, beyond which the judex must not

go in condemning in damages, but he might condemn in less. The formula might be this; 'Judex N.N. A.A. dumtaxat x milia condemnna' (Gaius, iv. 43); which literally rendered is, "so far as touches ten thousand." The sense of 'taxatio,' in the meaning of 'fixing damages or value,' is manifestly derived from the primitive meaning of 'taxo.' In the following passage (Dig. 4. tit. 3. s. 17. § 1) 'dumtaxat' is followed by 'de:' "haec actio in heredem et ceteros successores datur dumtaxat de eo quod ad eos pervenit," this action is allowed against the 'heres' and the other successors only with respect to, so far as, what has come to their hands. The word 'dumtaxat' probably got its ordinary adverbial use long before Cicero's time. It is in the legal formulae that its primary meaning is seen clearest. Seyffert says that 'dumtaxat' in this passage does not qualify 'ad tempus' simply, but 'simulatione ad tempus;' in which he is right.



amicorum. Quod Tarquinius dixisse ferunt tum [exsulantem] se intellexisse quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, quum jam neutris gratiam referre posset. 54. Quamquam miror illa superbia et importunitate si quemquam habere potuit. Atque ut hujus quem dixi mores veros amicos parare non potuerunt, sic multorum opes praepotentium excludunt amicitias fideles. Non enim solum ipsa fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos quos complexa est. Itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contumacia, neque quidquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos qui antea commodis fuerunt moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus immutari, sperni ab iis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. 55. Quid autem stultius quam, quum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cetera parare quae parantur pecunia, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa pretiosa; amicos non parare, optimam et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, suppellectilem? Etenim cetera

*Quod Tarquinius—intellexisse quos*] There is a reading 'et quos,' which is properly rejected. 'Quos fidos,' &c. is merely the explanation, or further exposition of the proposition to which 'Quod Tarquinius' refers. "This is what they say that Tarquin said, &c., that he found out who had been faithful friends," &c. Seyffert compares (c. 7) "id si minus intelligitur," that is, "the value of unity," "quanta vis," &c., "the consequences of disunion will show." Cicero might have said, "Quod si minus," &c.

*Fortuna—immutari,*] Man has always been the same. He who rises to wealth and power forgets his former associates. Wealth and power offer temptations which no man can with complete success

resist; some however more than others. Pride and arrogance are their natural offspring, that is, it is conformable to human nature, it is a law of human nature that power and wealth will corrupt a man, if their influence is not checked, for it cannot be destroyed. Plutarch, in his Life of Sulla, c. 30, starts the question, "whether fortune really produces an alteration and change in a man's natural disposition, or whether, when he gets to power, his bad qualities hitherto concealed are merely unveiled." The answer is, the man is merely unveiled; and when men are stripped naked, some are more foul and ugly than others. Aristotle has analyzed this matter in his searching way as usual. Rhet. ii. 16; Eth. Nicom. iv. 8.

quum parant, cui parent nesciunt, nec cujus causa laborent; ejus est enim istorum quidque qui vincit viribus: amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio, ut etiam si illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona fortunae, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse jucunda. Sed haec hactenus.

XVI. 56. Constituendi sunt autem qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi; de quibus tres video sententias ferri quarum nullam probo; unam ut eodem modo erga amicos affecti simus quo erga nosmet ipsos; alteram ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiae pariter aequaliterque respondeat; tertiam ut quanti quisque se ipse facit, tanti fiat ab amicis. Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus assentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est ut quemadmodum in se quisque, sic in amicum sit animatus. 57. Quam multa enim quae nostri causa nunquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum; precari ab indigno, supplicare; tum acerbius in aliquem invehi, insecutarique vehementius; quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime: multaeque res sunt in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut iis amici potius quam ipsi fruantur. 58. Altera sententia est quae definit amicitiam paribus

16. *Constituendi sunt autem qui sint*] “We must now determine the limits,” &c. It is difficult to see how those understand such a passage, who place a comma after ‘sunt,’ when ‘qui sint’ &c. is evidently both the subject of the proposition and the nominative to the verb ‘sunt.’ Seyffert, whose punctuation is not always the best, has no comma after ‘sunt.’ But he calls it a case of attraction.

*Illorum erga nos*] A student will hardly misunderstand ‘illorum,’ or suppose that ‘eorum’ might stand in its place here, if he

has well conceived the sense of ‘ille.’ See in this chapter “talem esse in eum qualis ille in se est.”

*Nostri causa*] Orelli has the reading ‘nostra;’ but ‘nostri,’ as Seyffert observes, is opposed to ‘amicorum.’

*Ut iis amici*] There is a reading ‘his.’ ‘Hi’ and ‘ii’ are often used indifferently in the MSS., and often may be used indifferently, as when they are immediately followed by ‘qui,’ as “de his qui” or “de iis qui,” &c. as in De Am. 17, “in iis qui in honoribus,” &c.

officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia, nec observare restricte ne plus reddat quam acceperit. Neque enim verendum est ne quid excidat, aut ne quid in terram defluat, aut ne plus aequo in amicitiam congeratur. 59. Tertius vero ille finis deterri-mus, ut quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Saepe enim in quibusdam aut animus abjectior est aut spes amplificandae fortunae fractior. Non est igitur amici talem esse in eum qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere ut amici jacentem animum excitet inducatque in spem cogitationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae constituendus est, si prius quid maxime reprehendere Scipio solitus sit edixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimiciorum amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam ejus qui dixisset, ita amare oportere ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec vero se adduci posse ut hoc, quemadmodum putaretur, a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; impuri cujusdam aut ambitiosi aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit ejus cui se putabit inimicum esse posse? Quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare ut quam saepissime peccet amicus, quo plures det

*Ad calculos vocare*] ‘Calculus,’ a diminutive of ‘calx,’ is a small pebble, used in the simplest form of reckoning by addition and subtraction. Hence it is a word used in reckoning generally; and “vocare ad calculos” is “to call a man to an account.” ‘Ratio’ is a word of accounts, and the expression is derived from the Roman practice of book-keeping. A good house-keeper always had “tabulae or codices accepti et expensi.”

*Biante*] Aristotle (Rhet. ii. 13) attributes this piece of wisdom to

Bias, one of the Seven. Aristotle says of those who are somewhat advanced in years, and have passed their prime, that “following the advice of Bias, they love as expecting to hate, and hate as expecting to love.” The credit of the maxim is given by Gellius (i. 3) to Chilon.

*Poterit ejus cui*] Orelli omits ‘ejus,’ which several MSS., and apparently the better, have. But this is not the kind of case in which the word ‘is’ can be omitted, as Seyffert shows.

sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehendendum; rursum autem recte factis commodisque amicorum [necesse erit] angi, dolere, invidere. 60. Quare hoc quidem praeceptum cujuscunque est ad tollendam amicitiam valet. Illud potius praecipendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiiis comparandis ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin etiam si minus felices in deligendo fuisset, ferendum id Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

XVII. 61. His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut quum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, ut etiam, si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus justae amicorum voluntates adjuvandae sint in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum sit de via, modo ne summa turpitudine sequatur: est enim quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit. Nec vero negligenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium, quam blanditiis et assentando colligere turpe est: virtus quam sequitur caritas minime repudianda est. 62. Sed saepe enim redeo ad

17. *His igitur finibus—sequatur.*] Gellius (i. 3) criticizes this passage of Cicero. He says that Theophrastus fully discussed the matter, which is propounded in the first few lines of this chapter; and if his memory does not deceive him, it was in the first book of his treatise on friendship, which he thinks that Cicero had read when he wrote his treatise on friendship. Gellius complains that Cicero's rule, 'declinandum sit,' &c. is not precise. In the passage of Cicero, as quoted by Gellius, the reading is (ed. Gronov.) "emendati mores sunt," which gives a different form to the sentence. This sentence presents

several difficulties. It would require a long exposition. The reading is perhaps right, as it stands in the text: the punctuation may be disapproved of. There is matter for the teacher to work on in this passage.

*Sed saepe enim*] Orelli's reading is, "Sed saepe—etenim redeo . . . amicitia—querebatur." There is no doubt that 'saepe' belongs to 'redeo;' and I have therefore followed Seyffert, except that I do not think it necessary to write, "Sed—saepe . . . amicitia—querebatur." It is absurd to suppose that 'sed' is to be disjoined from what immediately follows.



Scipionem cujus omnis sermo erat de amicitia, querebatur quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent; capras et oves quot quisque haberet dicere posse; amicos quot haberet non posse dicere; et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in amicis eligendis negligentes esse nec habere quasi signa quaedam et notas quibus eos qui ad amicitiam essent idonei judicarent. Sunt igitur firmi et stabiles et constantes eligendi, cujus generis est magna penuria, et judicare difficile est sane nisi expertum; experiendum est autem in ipsa amicitia; ita praecurrit amicitia judicium tollitque experiendi potestatem. 63. Est igitur prudentis sustinere ut currum sic impetum benevolentiae, quo utamur quasi equis tentatis, sic amicitiiis, aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves: quidam, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna. Sin erunt aliqui reperti qui pecuniam praeferre amicitiae sordidum existiment, ubi eos inveniemus qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes amicitiae non anteponant, ut, quum ex altera parte proposita haec sint, ex altera jus amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Imbecilla enim natura est ad contemnendam potentiam, quam etiam si neglecta amicitia consecuti sunt, obscuratum iri arbitrantur,

*In parva pecunia*] “In the matter of a small sum of money.” See De Am. c. 2. This test is in most cases quite enough; and it can be applied often, and at small cost. The test, ‘in magna,’ is not of so common application; but, when tried, it seldom fails.

*Honores, &c.*] Not one of these is an idle word, and I make the remark, because all such terms are often jumbled together in a loose careless version. All the words have been explained except ‘potestas.’ ‘Potestas’ is a general

term; it is genus, of which ‘imperium’ is a species. (Paulus, Dig. 50. tit. 16. s. 215). The Romans said, ‘consularis, praetoria potestas;’ and this ‘potestas’ was accompanied with ‘imperium.’ They also said, ‘tribunitia potestas;’ but the ‘tribuni plebis’ had not ‘imperium.’

*Obscuratum iri*] Some MSS. have ‘obscuratum iri se,’ &c.; some ‘excusatum iri,’ &c., and there are other variations. The sense of the passage is, “Human nature is too weak to despise power, and if men have got it even to the

quia non sine magna causa sit neglecta amicitia. 64. Itaque verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur in iis qui in honoribus reque publica versantur. Ubi enim istum invenias qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid, haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates, ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendat: quamquam Ennius recte:

Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur:

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt, aut in malis deserunt.

XVIII. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitia praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro hominum genere judicare debemus et paene divino. 65. Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque ejus quam in amicitia quaerimus fides est. Nihil enim stabile est quod infidum. Simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem qui rebus iisdem moveatur eligi par est; quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem. Neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum; neque vero, qui

neglect of friendship, they think that their neglect will be veiled, because it was not without a great motive." 'Iri' is the infinitive of 'eo,' and 'obscuratum' (a supine, as it is called) depends upon it just as in the phrase 'spectatum eo.' It follows that 'obscuratum' must govern an accusative suppressed, which is 'neglectam amicitiam,' or perhaps rather the whole of the notion, "the obtaining of power to the neglect of friendship."

18. *Utraque in re*] Both in his own prosperity, and in his friend's adversity.

*Communem*] There is no difficulty in the translation of this word if we avoid the English word

that is derived from it. The adjectives in Latin have often a much wider signification than the corresponding English words. We can say, "He must be a man of a simple character, who in all things puts himself on the same footing as others, and has a community of feeling with them;" but we cannot use 'common' as the Romans did, nor have we any other word to express the notion. The Greeks could use κοινός in the same sense as the Romans did 'communis.' The sense of 'communicans,' at the end of chapter 6, contains something of the notion of 'communis' here, and 'communicent' in c. 19. See also De Sen. c. 17.

non iisdem rebus movetur naturaque consentit, aut fidus aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat oblatis, quae omnia pertinent ad eam quam jamdudum tracto constantiam. Ita fit verum illud quod initio dixi, amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse. Est enim boni viri, quem eundem sapientem licet dicere, haec duo tenere in amicitia; primum, ne quid fictum sit neve simulatum: aperte enim vel odisse magis ingenui est quam fronte occultare sententiam: deinde, non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum semper aliquid existimantem ab amico esse violatum. 66. Accedat huc suavitas quaedam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et in omni re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

*Non iisdem—naturaque*] Here the negation of the 'non' extends to the words 'naturaque consentit.'

*Ut ne criminibus*] Compare c. 12, "ut ne quis—putet:" a more positive, distinct expression than the simple 'ne.' 'Ut ne' in fact is equivalent to a command.

*Accedat — suavitas — oportet*] 'Oportet' is used both with the subjunctive, generally without 'ut;' and also with the infinitive. Perhaps 'oportet' is not used with the subjunctive when there is a negative with 'oportet.' Either 'oportet' or 'non oportet' may have the infinitive. Though 'oportet' seems to contain the same element as 'opus' (oper), usage had given the two words different meanings (Cic. Ad Att. xiii. 25).

*Tristitia—illa*] 'Tristitia' is one of a class of words that are

very difficult to translate, as all words are that indicate the affections. It means a seriousness of a repulsive kind, which shows itself in the countenance and the manner; something of dissatisfaction with men and things. We have no word for it. 'Severitas' is an earnestness and seriousness in the thoughts and the purpose, which also has its external characteristic, which however is not that of 'tristitia.'

This position of 'illa' is not uncommon; but the meaning is not helped by a comma after 'severitas,' which some place there. See De Am. 19, "Novitates autem, &c., non sunt illae quidem," &c.; and c. 6, "praeclare illi quidem." 'Is quidem' is used in the same way. "Illa quidem" means, "it has indeed;" a kind of concession, followed by a 'but' (sed).

XIX. 67. Exsistit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio subdifficilis: num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus. Indigna homine dubitatio. Non enim amicitiarum debent esse sicut aliarum rerum satietates. Veterima quaeque, ut ea vina quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debent suavissima: verumque illud est quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. 68. Novitates autem, si spem afferunt ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus fructus appareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae; vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda: maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin ipso equo cujus modo mentionem feci, si nulla res impediatur, nemo est qui non eo quo consuevit libentius utatur quam intractato et novo: nec vero in hoc quod est animal, sed in iis etiam quae sunt inanima consuetudo valet; quum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus. 69. Sed maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem esse inferiori; saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Nunquam se ille Philo, nunquam Rupilio, nunquam Mummio anteposuit,

19. *Quod dicitur,*] Like 'ut aiunt,' is one of the ways of referring to a proverb. "Many measures of salt must be eaten together, in order that friendship's trial be perfected." People must live together some time before they can be sure that friendship can exist between them. Aristotle (Eth. Nicom. viii. 3) says: "According to the proverb, it is not possible for men to know one another till they have consumed together so much salt, as the saying is." It was a medimnus according to the Eth. Eud. vii. 2.

*Quin ipso, &c.*] Or "quin et

in ipso," which Seyffert prefers. After 'quin' there was probably a pause, for it signifies 'nay,' or the like, and the reader may put a comma after it if he likes. The sentence begins, "Nay, in the matter of the horse which I just now mentioned;" but instead of continuing thus, 'libentius utimur,' or the like, the form of the sentence is altered, and rendered more emphatic, by a new beginning, "nemo est qui," &c.

*Anteposuit,*] 'Preferred,' that is, he avoided the assumption of superiority, and did not claim more



nunquam inferioris ordinis amicis. Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate tamquam superiorem colebat, suosque omnes per se esse ampliores volebat. 70. Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis, ingenii, fortunae consecuti sunt, impertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis; ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliores vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati: ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerint, quum cogniti sunt et aut Deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus enim ingenii et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum maximus capitur quum in proximum quemque confertur.

XX. 71. Ut igitur ii qui sunt in amicitiae conjunctionisque necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum inferioribus debent; sic inferiores non dolere se a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant; eoque magis, si habere se putant quod officiose et amice et cum labore

because of his real superiority. Aristotle touches on this topic in his *Eth. Nicom.* viii. 14.

*Proximis;*] Perhaps it is hardly necessary to repeat Seyffert's remark, that 'proximi' does not mean 'our neighbours,' that is, all mankind, in the Christian sense; and indeed the word itself means that some are nearer to us than others. Cicero (*De Off.* i. 14) says "proximi sunt parentes, uxor, liberi," &c. Its meaning is often fixed by the addition of 'genere' or the like. The doctrine of uni-

versal brotherhood was not taught nor practised by heathen antiquity, so far as it appears, until after the publication of Christianity. The emperor Marcus Antoninus in his comprehensive morality tells us to love "the human race" (vii. 31); and (v. 33.) "to do good to men," and "to love those who evilly entreat us" (ix. 27).

*In fabulis;*] In plays, dramatic representations.

20. *Officiose;*] The word means conformably to their 'officium' or duty. Cicero has a treatise "De

aliquo suo factum queant dicere. Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quae meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit. 72. Quamobrem ut ii qui superiores sunt submittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam qui molestas amicitias faciunt, quum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere contingit nisi iis qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur, qui hac opinione non modo verbis sed etiam opere levandi sunt. 73. Tantum autem cuique tribuendum, primum, quantum ipse efficere possis; deinde etiam, quantum ille quem diligas atque adjuves sustinere. Non enim tu possis, quamvis licet excellas, omnes tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere; ut Scipio P. Rupilius potuit Consulem efficere, fratrem ejus Lucium non potuit. Quod si etiam possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen quid ille possit sustinere. 74. Omnino amicitiae corroboratis jam confirmatisque et ingeniis et aetatibus judicandae sunt: nec si qui ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt, eos habere neces-

Officiis." 'Amice' is more than 'officiose.'

*Submittere*] The word here means to "abase themselves, lower themselves," that is, in a proper sense, to the level of their less gifted friends; a sense closely related to a more common meaning of verbs compounded with 'sub,' such as 'subire,' 'subesse,' and the like. The 'inferiores' must raise themselves up, endeavour to raise their thoughts and sentiments to the level of their more gifted friends. 'Se' is evidently to be supplied with 'extollere.' It is scarcely credible that this passage has been sometimes so strangely misunderstood, that Cicero has been supposed to

mean that the 'superiores' must exalt the 'inferiores.'

*Deferre*] This is a word of technical use, in such expressions as "deferre honores alicui," or "ad aliquem," "to confer on a person the honores of the state," which the Roman 'populus' did.

*Nec si qui—fuerunt,*] Orelli has 'fuerint.'

*Habere necessarios,*] Orelli adds 'oportet.' But 'oportet' cannot stand here, unless we supply an 'eos' before 'eos:' and nobody would think of that. There appears enough in 'judicandae sunt,' out of which we may derive a support for 'habere,' without supplying any particular word; but still the form of expression is singular.

sarios quos tum eodem studio praeditos dilexerunt; isto enim modo nutrices et paedagogi jure vetustatis plurimum benevolentiae postulabunt: qui negligendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo: aliter amicitiae stabiles permanere non possunt. Dispares enim mores disparia studia sequuntur quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias; nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi bonis amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter eos quantam maxima potest esse morum studiorumque distantia.

*Isto enim, &c.]* This use of 'isto' seems to mean by implication "for if you should maintain what I have just denied, then," &c. After "alio quodam modo" some MSS. have 'amandi,' and others 'colendi,' both of which look like an attempt to explain the text; for the words 'negligendi quidem,' followed by 'sed,' imply a word that is to be opposed to 'negligendi.' The clause from 'isto enim modo' to 'postulabunt' is parenthetical; and 'qui negligendi' does not refer to 'nutrices et paedagogi,' but to 'eos—quos tum.' But what is to be supplied with "alio quodam modo?" "Negligendi non sunt," says Seyffert, who refers "qui negligendi" to "nutrices et paedagogi." But this explanation is not satisfactory. A Roman knew that he ought to feel some gratitude to 'nutrices' and 'paedagogi': friendship with them was out of the question. But what was he to do with his youthful companions, whom he once loved? The answer is that we must not entirely neglect them, but we must treat them in some other way. If the clause from "isto enim modo" to "postulabunt" were omitted, as it may be, the sense would be clearer, because the two parts of

the sentence, which relate to one another, would not be disjoined by the parenthesis ("isto enim—postulabunt"); and we might supply 'habendi' from 'habere.' But I do not believe that this is the true explanation, and the sentence appears to be purposely left in this indeterminate state: "they must not be neglected, it is true; but they are to be dealt with in a particular and a different way." This is a case in which a Latin sentence can omit the verb or verbal form, of which many examples might be cited. The English sentence is almost unintelligible if the verb or verbal form be not added. The words "aliter amicitiae," &c., refer to the beginning of the sentence, "Omnino amicitiae—judicandae sunt:" and the whole that lies between is parenthetical with reference to these two extremes.

*Paedagogi]* A Greek word, 'boy-conductors,' slaves whose business it was to look after children, to attend them to school, and the like. It was usual for the wealthy Romans to have Greek slaves for this purpose, and probably the name 'paedagogus' was introduced with the practice of employing Greek slaves to look after children.

75. Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiiis ne intemperata quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit, impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam, Trojam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum impediendum, audire voluisset; et saepe incidunt magnae res ut discedendum sit ab amicis: quas qui impedire vult, quod desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum justus.

76. Atque in omni re considerandum est et quid postules ab amico et quid patiari a te impetrari.

XXI. Est etiam quasi quaedam calamitas in amicitiiis dimittendis nonnunquam necessaria; jam enim a sapientium familiaritatibus ad vulgares amicitias oratio nostra delabitur. Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum in ipsos amicos tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiae sunt remissione usus eluendae, et, ut Catonem dicere audivi, dissuendae magis quam discindendae; nisi quaedam admodum intolerabilis injuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit nec fieri

*Et saepe incidunt*] I have followed Seyffert in making this the second part of the sentence, beginning 'nec enim,' as it manifestly is. Compare "neque in rebus humanis—et," c. 21. 'Discedendum sit' does not mean a breaking of friendship, but simply a temporary separation of friends.

*Justus.*] Does not mean 'just.' It means 'perfect.' A 'justus amicus' is a complete, perfect friend, a man who fulfils all the conditions of friendship. As to the various meanings of 'justus,' see the article 'jus,' by the author of this note, in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

21. *Redundet*] Some MSS. have

'redundat;' but it requires only a moderate degree of attention to the construction of Cicero's periods to see that he does not mean to make two direct affirmations in this sentence. There is only one contained in 'erumpunt:' the other is implied. Seyffert's explanation is this: That the wrongful deed is intended to be marked by the subjunctive 'redundet,' as one the 'infamia' of which must necessarily fall back upon friends. This is a different view of the matter, but not the true one, as I think.

'Infamia' means 'disgrace,' or 'blame,' and is not used in its technical and political sense.



possit ut non statim alienatio disjunctioque facienda sit. 77. Sin autem aut morum aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri solet, facta erit, aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio intercesserit, loquor enim jam, ut paullo ante dixi, non de sapientium sed de communibus amicitiiis, cavendum erit ne non solum amicitiae depositae sed inimicitiae etiam susceptae videantur. Nihil enim turpius quam cum eo bellum gerere quicum familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompeii meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis, Scipio; propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello. Utrumque egit graviter, auctoritate et offensione animi non acerba. 78. Quamobrem primum danda opera est nequa amicorum dissidia fiant; sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut extinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse videantur. Cavendum vero ne etiam in graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiae, ex quibus jurgia, maledicta, contumeliae gignuntur: quae tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferendae sunt, et hic honos veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit qui faciat, non is qui patiatur injuriam. Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne

*Rei publicae*] It is better to write these words as two words, as they are. 'Res publicae' is constantly opposed to 'res privatae.' There are also the expressions 'res Romanae,' and many others. At the beginning of the sentence Orelli has "Sin autem morum," but the MSS. authority is in favour of 'aut morum,' and also the meaning of the passage.

*Gignuntur*:] Seyffert has a note on 'gignuntur,' which he explains correctly. The clause 'ex quibus' contains a direct predication as to "graves inimicitiae." On so nice a matter does this question of the indicative and subjunctive often turn, that a man must keep his

understanding active in order to apprehend it; one advantage that results from reading writers whom one must read with care in order to understand them. Ernesti's text of this passage in the London reprint is worth citing as a curiosity: "cavendum vero est, ne . . . se amicitiae: ex quibus . . . gignantur." It would require an Oedipus to explain such an "ex quibus . . . gignantur," thus detached from what precedes.

*Ut ne*] This occurs in De Am. 16, 18. 'Neve' or 'neu,' follows another 'ne,' and sometimes 'ut' only; as Caes. Bell. Gall. ii. 21. 'Neve' is sometimes used when there is no 'ne,' in commands or

nimis cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos. 79. Digni autem sunt amicitia quibus in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur. Rarum genus, et quidem omnia praeclara rara, nec quidquam difficilius quam reperire quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quidquam bonum norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit; et amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos. 80. Ita pulcherrima illa et maxime naturali carent amicitia per se et propter se expetenda; nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt haec vis amicitiae qualis et quanta sit. Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigit caritatis suae, sed quod per se sibi quisque carus est. Quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus nunquam reperietur; est enim is qui est tamquam alter idem. 81. Quod si hoc apparet in bestiis, volucris, nantibus, agrestibus, cicuribus, feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant, id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur, deinde ut requirant atque appetant ad quas se applicent ejusdem generis animantes, idque faciunt cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in homine fit natura, qui et se ipse diligit, et alterum anquirat cujus animum ita cum suo misceat ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus?

precepts, or the like. Virg. Georg. ii. 298, iv. 47; Hor. Carm. i. 2, 47.

*Transferetur.*] The greater number of MSS. are said to have 'transferatur,' which would not express the meaning, which is, that the same rule must be transferred to friendship. The reading of Orelli is "est enim is quidem tamquam," &c., which hardly seems to express clearly what is meant; and 'qui est' seems necessary.

*Quadam similitudine*] Animals are here compared with man as to some of their passions and affec-

tions. They and men have a certain nature in common, but man has something more than beasts. This notion is the foundation of Ulpian's threefold division of law (Inst. i. tit. 2. "Jus naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit") an unpractical division of the matter of law, and one that has generally been misunderstood; but still it has a meaning. Those who are curious, and have the opportunity, may see Savigny's explanation, *System des Heut. Röm. Rechts.*, vol. i., Beylage i.

XXII. 82. Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam impudenter, amicum habere talem volunt quales ipsi esse non possunt; quaeque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab eis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea quam jamdudum tractamus stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, quum homines benevolentia conjuncti primum cupiditatibus iis quibus ceteri serviunt imperabunt, deinde aequitate justitiaeque gaudebunt, omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet, neque quidquam unquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligenter sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. 83. Itaque in iis perniciosus est error qui existimant libidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam. Virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea quae summa sunt pervenire, conjuncta et consociata cum altera perveniret; quae si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturae bonum optimus beatissimusque comitatus. 84. Haec est, inquam, societas in qua omnia insunt quae putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi, atque jucunditas; ut et, quum haec adsint, beata vita sit, et sine his esse non possit. Quod quum optimum maximumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus. Ea vero neglecta, qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt quum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit. 85. Quocirca, dicendum est enim saepius, quum judicaveris, diligere oportet; non, quum

22. *Colent inter se*] Forcellini *inter se.*" (Ad Att. vi. 1.) He gives other examples of this use of 'inter,' as "Ciceronis pueri amant others find some difference.

dilexeris, judicare. Sed quum multis in rebus negligentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et deligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur consiliis et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam officiis repente in medio cursu amicitias exorta aliqua offensione dirumpimus.

XXIII. 86. Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime necessariae tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis de cujus utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt: quamquam a multis ipsa virtus contemnitur et venditatio quaedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur. Multi divitias despiciunt, quos parvo contentos tenuis victus cultusque delectat; honores vero quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam multi ita contemnunt ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius existiment: itemque cetera quae quibusdam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt qui pro nihilo putent. De amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ii qui ad rem publicam se contulerunt, et ii qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur, et ii qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi; postremo ii qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere. 87. Serpit enim nescio quomodo per omnium vitas amicitia, nec ullam aetatis degendae rationem patitur esse expertem sui. Quin etiam si quis

*Acta agimus,*] A proverb, as we are here told. To do a thing that is done is to labour in vain. Ter. Phorm. 2, 3, 72. "Ohe, actum, aiunt, ne agas." The proverb explains the word 'praeposteris': "we do that afterwards which we should do first;" that is, carefully consider.

*Ultro et citro*] 'Ultro citroque' is the more common form: it means 'hitherwards and thitherwards,' 'backward and forward,' when 'citro' is the 'backward.'

With 'implicati' it expresses the complete involvement or entanglement which arises from 'usus diuturnus,' or from 'officia.'

23. *Nullam,*] Some MSS. have 'sentiunt nullam,' and others 'nullam sentiunt;' where 'sentiunt' appears to be an interpolation.

*Liberaliter*] Properly means like 'free persons;' hence, with propriety, decency, and the like. 'Liberalis' is often used in this sense, as opposed to 'servilis.'



asperitate ea est et immanitate naturae congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit, qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus, tamen is pati non possit ut non anquirat aliquem apud quem evomat virus acerbitalis suae. Atque hoc maxime judicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere ut aliquis nos Deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleretur et in solitudine uspiam collocaret, atque ibi suppedians omnium rerum quas natura desiderat abundantiam et copiam hominis omnino adspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus qui eam vitam ferre posset, cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo? 88. Verum ergo illud est quod a Tarentino Archyta, ut opinor, dici solitum, nostros senes commemorare audivi ab aliis senibus auditum: si quis in caelum ascendisset naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore, quae jucundissima fuisset si aliquem cui narraret habuisset. Sic natura solitarium nihil amat, semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum annitur, quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed quum tot signis eadem natura declaret quid velit, anquirat, desideret, obsurdescimus tamen nescio quomodo, nec ea quae ab ea monemur audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiae, multaeque causae

*Asperitate ea*] Orelli has 'ea asperitate.' The reason for placing 'asperitate' first may be easily seen.

*Timonem nescio quem*] A contemptuous or indifferent way of speaking, 'one Timon.' The story of this Timon is told, among others, by Plutarch (Life of Antonius, c. 70, and Life of Alcibiades, c. 16.) Shakspeare has painted the character well in his "Timon of Athens."

*Ibi*] 'Ibi' is a dative, or rather

a case of locality, as 'ubi' (cubi) is of 'quis:' and 'ibi' refers to a place mentioned, as 'is' does to a person or thing mentioned.

24. *Ea quae ab ea monemur*] There are some verbs which have the double accusative, of the person and of the thing in the active, and retain the accusative of the thing in the passive, as 'doceo,' 'celo,' 'moneo.'

*Est enim—usus, &c.*] 'Usus amicitiae,' meaning the 'intercourse between friends,' is very

suspicionum offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare tum elevare tum ferre sapientis est. Una illa sublevanda offensio est, ut et utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatur; nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et objurgandi; et haec accipienda amice quum benevole fiunt. 89. Sed nescio quomodo verum est quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit:

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Molesta veritas, si quidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiae; sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit. Maxima autem culpa in eo qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem obsequio impellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et diligentia est, primum, ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut objurgatio contumelia careat. In obsequio autem, quoniam Terentiano verbo lubenter utimur, comitas adsit, assentatio vitiorum adjutrix procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico sed ne libero quidem digna est: aliter enim

varied, and hence must arise causes of suspicion and offence, which a wise man must avoid, or make as light of them as may be (elevare), or bear. But there is one cause of offence that must be totally removed out of the way (sublevanda), in order that the profit of friendship and good faith in it may be kept; for friends must be advised and reproof, and they must take advice and reproof like friends, when they are advised and reproof with a good intention. "Utilitas in amicitia" is better than Orelli's reading "veritas in amicitia." The strange misunderstanding of the words 'usus,' 'elevare,' and 'sublevanda,' by some critics, is well exposed by Seyffert, who has explained the passage correctly. Some MSS. have "sublevanda est offensio."

*Familiaris meus*] Laelius al-

ludes to Terence, who was on such intimate terms with the younger Africanus and Laelius, that it was supposed or said that he was assisted by them in his plays; to which Terence himself alludes (Prolog. Adelph.), without denying it. See also Cicero (Ad Att. vii. 3). The passage here cited is from the Andria (i. 1. 41).

*In fraudem*] 'Fraus' here means 'self-deception.'

*Omni igitur*] Orelli has 'omnis.'

*Non modo—sed ne libero quidem*] Here the predicate (digna) is in the second clause, and 'non modo' is generally explained to stand for 'non modo non' in such a case. 'Modo' means 'in a manner,' 'in a degree.' The form 'non modo . . . non,' followed by 'sed' without 'ne,' occurs in De

cum tyranno, aliter cum amico vivitur. 90. Cujus autem aures veritati clausae sunt ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est. Scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa: melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri quam eos amicos qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos nunquam. Atque illud absurdum est, quod ii qui monentur eam molestiam quam debent capere non capiunt, eam capiunt qua debent vacare. Pec- casse enim se non anguntur; objurgari moleste ferunt; quod contra oportebat delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

XXV. 91. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est verae amicitiae, et alterum libere facere non aspere, alterum patienter accipere non repugnanter, sic habendum est nul- lam in amicitia pestem esse majorem quam adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem: *quamvis* enim multis nominibus

Am. 12. If the second negative is in the first clause, it is not wanted in the second. If it is not in the first, it must appear in the second. In both cases the 'non' with 'modo' qualifies 'modo.' See Cic. In Verr. Act. ii. 1, 25. & 36.

*Scitum est*] This participle contains the root 'sci,' and in this and like passages it signifies a good saying, a clever saying. The various uses of this word are given fully in Forcellini.

*Quod contra, &c.*] Comp. De Sen. 23, 'Quod contra,' simply means 'whereas on the contrary they ought.' The notion of sup- plying 'esse,' or the like, must be rejected. In Cic. De Off. i. 15, 'Quod contra fit' is a different thing.

25. *Quamvis enim, &c.*] 'Quam- vis' qualifies 'multis': 'for even on many accounts.' This word is often used in the sense of 'valde,' 'admodum,' a sense which easily flows from the simple analy-

sis of the word, 'as much as,' or 'as you please.' Cicero (Pro S. Rosc. Amer. 16) says: "quasi vero mihi difficile sit quamvis mul- tos nominatim referre," "as if I should have any difficulty in men- tioning by name as many as you please." As to the word 'notan- dum,' see De Sen. 12; for this sense is derived from the technical meaning of 'noto.' 'Multis no- minibus' means 'on many ac- counts,' literally perhaps, 'on many heads or entries,' and it is apparently connected with the sense of 'nomina,' which signifies entries in a book of accounts, and hence 'debts and credits.' Nor will it be supposed that this ex- planation is far fetched, if we con- sider how many expressions derived from the business of daily life, and more particularly from legal no- tions, with which the Romans were very familiar, were transferred and applied to other purposes.

est hoc vitium notandum levium hominum atque fallacium, ad voluptatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. 92. Quum autem omnium rerum simulatio est vitiosa, tollit enim iudicium veri idque adulterat, tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet enim veritatem sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest. Nam quum amicitiae vis sit in eo ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus, qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque semper sed varius, commutabilis, multiplex? 93. Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium, quam animus ejus qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem sed etiam vultum atque nutum convertitur?

Negat quis; nego: ait; aio: postremo imperavi egomet mihi Omnia assentari:

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille sub Gnathonis persona: quod amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. 94. Multi autem Gnathonum similes quum sint loco, fortuna, fama superiores, horum est assentatio molesta, quum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas. 95. Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero et internosci tam potest adhibita diligentia quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio

*Ad voluptatem loquentium*] Which Seyffert has adopted, is evidently a better reading than Orelli's, 'ad voluntatem,' &c. as the argument shows. In c. 26, some inferior MSS. have 'ad ipsorum voluptatem.' The two words have been thus confounded.

*Gnathonis*] The quotation is from the Eunuchus of Terence (ii. 2, 21). As to 'persona,' see De Am. c. i.

*Vanitatem*] 'Vanitas' is 'falsehood,' 'lying,' another name for 'assentatio,' the more grievous, when the rank or station of the flatterer gives it weight. See De Am. c. 26.

*Accessit*] Is the true reading, not 'accesserit,' which one MS. has.

*Contio*] A meeting or popular assembly. Seyffert's is the only edition that I have seen, in which the word 'contio' has at length got its true form. Some people are still writing nonsense about this word. Seyffert's note is this: "The orthography of the word *contio*, in place of the former reading *concio*, is confirmed by inscriptions, and the best MSS. of Cicero: consequently it is not derived from *a conciendo*, but *a conveniendo*, and from *conventio* was first formed *coventio*, and then



quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen judicare solet quid intersit inter popularem, id est, assentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem, severum, et gravem. 96. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat in aures con-  
tionis, quum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis. Dissuasimus nos. Sed nihil de me : de Scipione dicam libentius. Quanta illi, Dii immortales, fuit gravitas, quanta in oratione majestas, ut facile ducem populi Romani non comitem diceres. Sed adfuistis, et est in manibus oratio. Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maximo fratre Scipionis et L. Mancino consulibus, quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licinii Crassi videbatur. Cooptatio enim

*contio.*” Orelli, who has ‘concio,’ says nothing of a MS. reading ‘contio;’ but his various readings are very far from presenting all that they ought to do, as any man may with a little trouble satisfy himself. Professor Key is the first, as far as I know, who has restored the orthography of this word. The Bacchanalian inscription (ed. M. Egizio) has ‘covenantio.’ Forcellini defends ‘concio.’

*Popularem,*] ‘Popularis,’ one who supports the popular party against the ‘boni’ or ‘optimates.’ Cicero puts an explanation of the term in the mouth of Laelius, which was suitable to the opinions of Laelius, and also his own. Comp. what Cicero says on this matter, Pro Sest. 45; and the article ‘Nobilis,’ by the author of this note, in Smith’s Dict. of Antiquities.

*C. Papirius*] This is C. Papirius Carbo, mentioned in c. 11, ‘tribunus plebis,’ B.C. 131. He proposed a lex to allow the election of a person to the tribuneship

as often as the plebs might please; but it was rejected through the influence of Laelius and Scipio. ‘Ferre legem’ is the usual phrase for proposing an enactment (lex), though an enactment proposed was properly called ‘rogatio.’ ‘Perferre legem’ is to carry a law, to get it passed by the comitia.

*Est in manibus oratio.*] This is the usual phrase to express that an oration was extant and in circulation.

*Cooptatio*] ‘Cooptatio’ was a term applied to the colleges of priests, to signify that they filled up vacancies in their own bodies by self-election. They were close corporations. The lex mentioned in the text was proposed B.C. 145, and its object was to give to the comitia the election of members to fill up vacant places in the priestly colleges. Such a lex might accordingly be called ‘popularis.’ The honours or the offices which the people conferred were called ‘beneficia populi,’ the favours of the ‘populus.’ As to

collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur. Atque is primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo; tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum immortalium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore me quinquennio ante quam consul sum factus. Ita re magis quam auctoritate causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. 97. Quod si in scena, id est, in contione, in qua rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet, si modo id patefactum et illustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet quae tota veritate perpenditur? in

other uses of this word, see Cicero (Pro Arch. c. 5; Ad Div. v. 20, and the note of Manutius).

*Instituit*] In this and like cases, signifies to "establish as a custom," or "to make the arrangements" for any thing, and is followed by an infinitive. 'Agere cum populo,' like the ordinary use of 'agere cum aliquo,' implies the transaction of something in the nature of business; and in a derived sense 'cum aliquo agi' may express any dealing of which a man is the object (De Am. 1), "quum enim saepe mecum ageres," &c.; (De Am. 3) "cum illo . . . actum esse praeclare." 'Agere cum populo,' according to Messala, quoted by Gellius (xiii. 15), means to propose some measure to the populus for their acceptance or rejection.

*In forum versus, &c.*] According to Niebuhr, the place where the patricians held their elections was the comitium, and that of the plebeians was the forum; both of which were on the same level, and might be considered as forming one place, comprehended in the general term 'forum.' The old rostra separated the comitium from the plebeian forum, and up to the

time mentioned in the text the tribunes, when they spoke from the rostra, turned their faces towards the comitium and the curia Hostilia. Licinius Crassus, according to the statement in the text, must have brought the populus from the comitium to the forum to hear his harangue. If the forum was made the place of general meeting for the populus and the plebs, the tribunes must, of course, have turned their back to the comitium, and their face to the forum, when they addressed a contio composed of the two bodies. According to Plutarch (Life of C. Gracchus, c. 5), whose version of the story shows that he hardly understood it; C. Gracchus 'was the first who turned his face the other way to the forum.'

*Vendibilem*] This word which means 'saleable,' or 'for sale,' does not mean 'venal' in this passage. It was like a commodity which recommends itself, something that is readily passed. So was the proposal of Crassus. The people liked it, and were ready to accept it, but they yielded to the religious argument of Laelius, founded on the old institutions of Rome.

qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas; ne amare quidem aut amari, quum id quam vere fiat ignores. Quamquam ista assentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit ut is assentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime, qui ipse sibi assentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. 98. Omnino est amans sui virtus; optime enim se ipsa novit quamque amabilis sit intelligit; ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Hos delectat assentatio; his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo quum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur haec amicitia, quum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis assentatio [nobis] faceta videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?

Satis erat respondere, magnas; ingentes, inquit. Semper auget assentator id quod is cujus ad voluntatem dicitur vult esse magnum. 99. Quamobrem, quamvis blanda ista vanitas apud eos valeat qui ipsi illam allectant et invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt ut animum advertant ne callida assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors: callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet studiose cavendum est. Nec enim facillime agnoscitur, quippe qui

26. *Ea delectatur.*] Orelli has 'in ea.'

*Magnas vero, &c.*] This line is from the Eunuchus of Terence, iii. 1, 1. A 'miles gloriosus,' or braggadochio, was a character in the Roman plays. Plautus has a play called the Miles Gloriosus.

*Animum advertant*] The reading 'animadvertant' is preferred by Seyffert and others; but it seems hard to establish any real distinction between the use of the two forms, one of which is only an abbreviated shape of the other.

*Quippe qui etiam adversando,*

etiam adversando saepe assentetur, et litigare se simulans blandiatur, atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut is qui illusus sit plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius quam illudi? Quod ne accidat cavendum est, ut in Epiclero :

Hodie me ante omnes comicos stultos senes

Versaris atque emunxeris lautissime.

100. Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est improvidorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo pacto ab amicitiiis perfectorum hominum, id est, sapientium, de hac dico sapientia quae videtur in hominem cadere posse, ad leves amicitias defluxit oratio. Quam-

&c.] This kind of flattery is touched on by Plutarch (Life of Antonius, c. 24) in these words ; "Antonius could not believe that those who spoke so freely in jest, could flatter him in earnest, and so he was easily caught by praise, not knowing that some persons by mingling freedom of expression, like a sharpish sauce, with flattery, took away from flattery its nauseating insipidity ; by their boldness and babbling over their cups, striving to make their yielding in matters of business and their assent appear, not the way of persons who keep about a man merely to please him, but of those who are overpowered by superior wisdom." Plutarch and Cicero may have drawn something from a common source ; and Cicero partly from his own experience. The lesson is worth remembering, especially by those in place and power.

*Det manus*] A usual expression to signify, to surrender like a vanquished man to a victorious enemy ; to assume the posture of a suppliant.

*Epiclero* :] In a play of Caecilius, called 'Epiclerus,' or the heiress. In the quotation from Caecilius, 'emunxeris,' is an emendation of Bentley (Hor. Ar. Poet. 96). The readings are unintelligible, except 'luseris,' which may be right. But the reading of one MS. is 'unxeris,' which Bentley with good argument shows to be intended for 'emunxeris.' 'Emungo' means to wipe the nose, or keep it clean : in the participial form, 'emunctus' is used to signify a man who keeps his nose clean, who has his wits about him. To wipe a man's nose for him, implies that he is a driveller, who cannot do it for himself ; and hence it means to outwit and cheat him, as in the Phormio of Terence (iv. 4. 1), 'emunxi argento senes.' 'Lautus,' a form of 'lavatus,' literally, 'washed,' 'clean,' is opposed to 'sordidus,' 'dirty,' but it has the derived meanings of 'elegant,' 'tasteful,' and the like. 'Emungere lautissime' is, to wipe a man's nose neatly, elegantly, for him.

*Defluxit*] Perhaps a preferable reading to 'deflexit,' which Orelli



obrem ad illa prima redeamus eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni et tu Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia, quae quum se extulit et ostendit lumen suum et idem adspexit agnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud quod in altero est, ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia. Utrumque enim dictum est ab amando; amare autem nihil aliud est nisi eum ipsum diligere quem ames,

has. The two words are often confounded in the MSS. 'Deflecto' would rather signify a digression, which is not meant here. It occurs (De Am. 12) "deflexit aliquantum." Laelius means to say that his discourse has sunk down to trivial matters, which he expresses (c. 21) by 'delabitur.'

*Concludamus aliquando.*] The position of 'aliquando' at the end of the sentence is significant: 'let us come to a conclusion at last.' 'Concludo,' 'to enclose within limits,' is also used to express the termination, or, as we say, the conclusion of a thing. Horace (i Sat. 4, 20) has the form "neque enim concludere versum Dixeris esse satis," by which he means to confine it within the limits which the nature of the metre requires.

27. *Virtus, virtus.*] The general notion of virtue has always been the same. Bishop Butler has touched on this matter in his sermon on the Nature of Virtue; but Seyffert observes that the Roman notion of 'virtus' was the "energy of devotion to one's country, and country itself was the highest moral idea." There is an element of truth in this; but the matter is too large to be discussed

here. It is enough to observe that though all nations, all mankind, agree in their general moral notions, those notions are greatly modified by the positive morality of each country; and Roman moral notions were more closely blended with their political system than they are in any modern nation.

*Convenientia rerum,*] "An agreement of mind and opinion in all things," "summa rerum divinarum humanarumque consensio" (c. 6).

*Diligere quem ames,*] Cicero (Ad Div. ix. 14) says, "Quis erat qui putaret ad eum amorem quem erga te habebam posse aliquid accedere? Tantum accessit ut mihi nunc amare videar, antea dilexisse." According to this passage, then, 'amare' implies something of passion or ardour, which is stronger than 'diligere,' to give a preference founded on esteem. When he says "sive amor sive amicitia," he means that you may call it what you like, love or friendship, for 'sive, sive' leaves the thing undetermined. Both, he says, are so called ('dictum,' the reading 'ductum,' is properly rejected) 'ab amando;' and he de-

nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita, quae tamen ipsa efflorescit ex amicitia, etiam si tu eam minus sequutus sis. 101. Hac nos adolescentes benevolentia senes illos L. Paullum, M. Catonem, C. Gallum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, dileximus. Haec etiam magis elucet inter aequales ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummius. Vicissim autem senes in adolescentium caritate acquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis: equidem etiam admodum adolescentis P. Rutilii, A. Virginii familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio comparata est vitae naturaeque nostrae ut alia aetas oriatur ex alia, maxime quidem optandum est ut cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum iisdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. 102. Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur: caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata omnis

fines 'amare,' that is, 'amicitia,' to be a preference for a person who is the object of the 'amor' (quem ames), in which preference there is no feeling that we are in want of his aid, and no calculation of profit. 'Quaesita,' as Seyffert remarks, has clearly no reference to 'indigentia.'

*Senes illos*] Here Laelius enumerates the men who were his friends when he was young, and they were advanced in age. It is only necessary to remark that P. Nasicus is P. Cornelius Scipio Nasicus, consul B.C. 162, called Corculum, and must not be confounded with the P. Scipio, mentioned in c. 12, who was his son. Tiberius Gracchus, the father-in-law of our 'Scipio,' was the father of the two tribunes, Ti. and C. Gracchus, and of a daughter, Sempronia, who married the younger Scipio Africanus. Cicero

in a work which he wrote after this treatise (*De Off.* ii. 12) again records the praises of the father, while he condemns the sons, and says that their death was just.

*Oriatur ex alia,*] Seyffert omits the words 'ex alia.' 'Alia aetas' means 'another generation,' and the words 'ex alia' are certainly not necessary.

*Aequalibus*] The context shows that 'aequales' here means contemporaries, persons who are about the same age. But this is only one of the meanings of 'aequalis,' which contains the same element as 'aequus,' as the uses of the word show. As to 'calcem,' &c. see *De Sen.* c. 23; and compare *Hor. Ep.* i. 16, 79. It appears that the limit of the course was sometimes marked by a whitened line or rope.

est e vita sublata jucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri quae exstincta non est. Nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo unquam animo aut spe majora suscipiet qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet. 103. Equidem ex omnibus rebus quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Nunquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi quod quidem senserim; nihil audivi ex eo ipse

*In manibus habui,*] This is one of the many applications of the phrase "in manibus habere," or "in manibus esse." See De Am. 25; De Sen. 4. The simple notion is "to have a thing in the hand;" hence immediate proximity to a thing, mastery or power over a thing, and the like.

*Qui sibi non illius*] The reading of one MS. "quin sibi illius," spoils the passage, in which the emphasis is on 'illius.'

*Quod quidem senserim;*] "At least so far as I perceived;" "so far as was matter of observation to me." Here the relative 'quod' has not the direct grammatical connexion with an antecedent, which it has in such passages as "tu non adfuisti qui . . . solitus esses" (De Am. 2); but still it is a like kind of expression, for it implicitly qualifies the predication in the main sentence by limiting the subject 'I' to the matter of his own observation. Professor Key remarks (Latin Grammar, 1195) that with 'quantum' the indicative is used, as in Terence's *Andria*, ii. 5, 12; i.

3, 2. One does not see why Cicero might not have used 'quantum' here, but would he have said "quantum quidem sensi" in such a sentence as this, and in such a position? In such an expression as "peccasse mihi videor qui a te discesserim," "I think I did wrong in leaving you" (Key's Grammar, 1194), the generality of the notion of my doing wrong is evidently limited by the words 'qui—discesserim;' but the forms of the English and the Latin sentences are different. The English sentence contains a general predication of the 'I,' which is 'think that I did wrong in leaving you;' and this predication again is resolvable into a subject 'I,' and a predication 'did wrong.' Perhaps most persons, led by the form of the English expression, would consider 'in leaving you' as belonging to the predicate. This however is a wrong view of the matter. The Roman form in which this limitation 'in leaving you' is expressed, is by a word which has a grammatical relation

quod nollem. Una domus [erat], idem victus isque communis; neque solum militia sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. 104. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi, in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus? Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa

to the 'I,' the subject of the sentence, and is of such a nature as to be the nominative to another verb 'discesserim.' "Qui a te discesserim" cannot therefore be disjoined from the 'ego,' whose culpability it limits to the case of a 'qui discesserim;' and thus the predication 'peccasse' is limited, not directly, but indirectly. In Terence (Phormio, ii. 1, 4) we have "rogitas qui . . . mi conscius sis?" "Do you ask, you who are privy to?" which English expression comes near the Latin form, but fails to express otherwise than by the order of the words the complete subordination of the second part of the sentence to the first. If any person will place the indicative 'qui discessi' and 'quod sensi,' in these two sentences, he will perceive that he has got a formal and direct affirmation, which is in a relation to the other part of the sentence, not of subordination, but of complete parity; and that is not intended. How the Romans came to adopt this nicety of expression is not our concern to inquire; all that we have to do is to observe that they have a use of 'qui' with a subjunctive, which expresses a certain notion with a precision that we cannot express. Another instance of this sort is "O miserum senem qui . . . non viderit" (De

Sen. 19); generally rendered "wretched, because he has not seen;" to which there is no objection, if it be understood that the Latin sentence is a different thing. The Latin sentence affirms of 'senex' that he is 'miser,' but not of 'senex' generally. The affirmation is of "senex . . . qui non viderit," as it might be of "senex morbo gravis," or the like. I have added these to obviate some objections that may be made to what I have said elsewhere. (De Sen. 2, &c.)

*Nam quid*] 'Nam' has not simply the sense of 'for,' in such passages as this. If we choose to render it 'For why should I speak?' the word 'for' will require explanation as much as 'nam.' The purpose of 'nam' in this passage is to introduce the mention of a thing on which the speaker does not intend to dwell; and its relation to what precedes is this: after what has been said, the matter introduced by 'nam' requires no particular remark. Comp. De Am. 13), "nam quibusdam," &c. Seyffert refers to Cic. De Off. (iii. 6) "nam illud quidem absurdum est," &c.

*Sed nec illa, &c.*] The corresponding clause is "et si illis," &c. 'Nec . . . et' often stand in this relation (De Am. 20); "nec



extincta sunt alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria; et si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi aetas ipsa solatium, diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum: omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent etiam si magna sunt. Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem. Vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

enim . . . et saepe." The 'que' after 'aluntur' is properly retained, as Seyffert shows; for, if it were omitted, the correspondence of the two parts of the sentence would be impaired or weakened.

*Locetis*] Those who would adopt an emendation 'colatis,' mistake the meaning of Laelius, who gives the first place to 'vir-

tus,' and the second to 'amicitia.' It is as if he had said "ut in eo loco virtutem ponatis."

*Putetis.*] Many good MSS. have 'esse putetis,' a dactylic ending, which Seyffert finds suitable to the circumstances; but about this there may be a difference of opinion, especially as "esse non potest" occurs in this sentence.

## AD Q. FRATREM I. 1.

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Q. CICERO, the only brother of the orator, M. Tullius Cicero, was probably born B.C. 102, and consequently was four years younger than Marcus. He was taken to Rome with his elder brother by their father, and received a good education after the fashion of the times. In B.C. 79 both the brothers were at Athens. Quintus appears to have accompanied Marcus to Asia and Rhodes, and to have returned to Rome with him B.C. 77. He had not the same aptitude for oratorical and philosophical pursuits as his brother, though he had some taste for literature and some pretensions to be a poet and a writer of annals. He married Pomponia, the sister of T. Pomponius Atticus, his brother's intimate friend; but Quintus was of a hasty temper and so was his wife; and the union was not happy (Cic. *Ad Attic.* v. 1; and elsewhere). Marcus Cicero was praetor B.C. 66, and consul B.C. 63, and in this year Quintus was elected praetor. His year of office was B.C. 62. He was afterwards proprætor of the Roman province of Asia (B.C. 61—59) for three years; and he left his province in B.C. 58, the year in which Marcus went into exile. When he reached Athens on his way home (15th of May), his brother Marcus had crossed the sea and was in Macedonia. Marcus was recalled to Rome in B.C. 57. In B.C. 54 Quintus became a legatus of C. Julius Caesar in Gallia, and he accompanied his commander in his second British

expedition (B.C. 54), and landed with him at Deal on the coast of Kent.

Quintus wrote several letters to Marcus from Britain (Ad Q. Fr. iii. 1 and 3). In the winter of this year (B.C. 54) Quintus was with his legion in the country of the Nervii, and he bravely defended his camp against an unexpected attack of the Gauls, until Caesar came to his help (Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* v. 39, &c.). The extant correspondence of Cicero with his brother does not extend beyond the time when he was quartered in the country of the Nervii (Ad Q. Fr. iii. 8); but where the country of the Nervii was, Marcus says that he does not know. The subsequent history of Quintus is not material for the present purpose. He perished in the proscription with his brother B.C. 43.

There are extant three books of the letters of Marcus to Quintus. This, the first of the first book, is less of a letter than an admonitory address. It has more of the character of Cicero's oratorical writings than of his epistolary correspondence, which is easily explained when we see the nature of the subject. The Roman province of Asia comprehended Mysia with the Hellespontus and Troas, Aeolis, Ionia, Doris, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia; a tract full of rich towns and a cultivated population. The usual residence of the governor was Ephesus. This letter was written B.C. 60, in the consulship of L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer.

When any portion of a Roman writer is read, the main object of the teacher is to explain the language; but for this purpose, it is necessary sometimes to study the matter also. From this letter some notion may be got of the nature of the Roman provincial administration. There is no great advantage in boys' reading Roman history in the usual way in some short sketch or outline: they generally get as many false notions as true ones. If the teacher will

take the pains to master well each portion of an author that he explains to his pupils, his oral instruction on a subject of limited extent will make more impression on the pupils, and produce better results than the loose reading of the ordinary histories. With the view of helping a teacher or diligent student, I have added a few notes to the text of this letter, which does not require a great amount of explanation. A hint sometimes is sufficient. I have used the notes in the Variorum edition, and the commentary of P. Manutius; but there is little in them.



## EPISTOLA AD QUINTUM FRATREM.

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### MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

I. 1. Etsi non dubitabam quin hanc epistolam multi nuntii, fama denique esset ipsa sua celeritate superatura, tuque ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo; tamen existimavi a me quoque tibi hujus molestiae nuntium perferri oportere. Nam superioribus litteris non unis sed pluribus, quum jam ab aliis desperata res esset, tamen tibi ego spem maturae decessionis afferebam; non solum ut quam diutissime te jucunda opinione oblectarem, sed etiam quia tanta adhibebatur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio ut rem posse confici non diffiderem. 2. Nunc quoniam ita accidit ut neque praetores suis opibus neque nos nostro studio quidquam proficere possemus, est omnino difficile non graviter id ferre; sed tamen nostros animos maximis in rebus et gerendis et sustinendis exercitatos frangi et debilitari molestia non oportet. Et quoniam ea molestissime ferre homines debent quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt, est

1. *Litteris non unis*] 'Litterae unae,' one epistle, 'binae,' two, and so on. See Key's Grammar, 1062, on 'unus' in the plural.

*Decessionis*] 'Decedo,' not 'discedo,' is the word used to signify a governor's leaving his province at the expiration of his term.

'Ex' or 'de provincia' is sometimes joined with the verb; sometimes it is omitted. The word which is applied to the successor in the government is 'succedo.' Tacitus, Agric. 7, 'decessor,' 'successor.'

quiddam in hac re mihi molestius ferendum quam tibi. Factum est enim mea culpa, contra quam tu mecum et proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur. Quod ego, dum salutis sociorum consulo, dum impudentiae nonnullorum negotiatorum resisto, dum nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expeto, feci non sapienter: praesertim quum id commiserim ut ille alter annus etiam tertium posset adducere. 3. Quod quoniam peccatum meum esse confiteor, est sapientiae atque humanitatis tuae curare et perficere ut hoc minus sapienter a me provisum diligentia tua corrigatur. Ac si te ipse vehementius ad omnes partes bene audiendi excitaris, non ut cum aliis sed ut tecum jam ipse certes; si omnem tuam mentem, curam, cogitationem, ad excellentem in omnibus rebus laudis cupiditatem incitaris, mihi crede, unus annus additus labori tuo multorum annorum laetitiam nobis, gloriam vero etiam posteris nostris afferet. 4. Quapropter hoc te primum rogo ne contrahas ac demittas animum, neve te obrui tamquam fluctu sic magnitudine negotii sinas; contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro occurras negotiis. Neque enim ejusmodi partem rei publicae geris in qua fortuna dominetur, sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia. Quod si tibi bellum aliquod magnum et [periculosum administranti prorogatum imperium viderem, tremere animo,

*Contra quam*] In Orelli's and other editions a comma is placed between these words; and yet editors write 'postquam' 'praeterquam' as one word. It may not be very easy to explain how this form of expression originated, but nobody can doubt that 'contra quam' must go together. See Index.

*Negotiatorum*] See c. 1, further on.

*Id commiserim*] Ernesti thinks that 'id' should be 'ita.' Perhaps it should be omitted. 'To put

together' is used here and in many other cases 'to act in such way that a certain consequence follows.'

*Bene audiendi*] "And if you will rouse yourself more vigorously to earn a good repute in every thing" "Bene audire," "to be well spoken of," "male audire," are common Roman expressions, like the Greek εὖ or κακῶς ἀκούειν.

*Ultro*] See De Sen. c. 11.

*Prorogatum imperium*] 'Pro-

quod eodem tempore esse intelligerem etiam fortunae potestatem in nos prorogatam. 5. Nunc vero ea pars tibi rei publicae commissa est in qua aut nullam aut perexiguam partem fortuna tenet, et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. Nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam praelii dimicationem, nullam defectionem sociorum, nullam inopiam stipendii aut rei fru-

rogare imperium', is to extend the time of the 'imperium,' conformably to the meaning of 'pro.' Cicero says (Ad Att. v. 11) "ne provincia nobis prorogetur," which means the time in the province. 'Rogare' is a word of Roman legislation, as 'rogare legem,' to propose a law, that is, to ask the assent of the Quirites, in doing which the word 'rogo' was used. The formula is preserved by Gellius (v. 19). Besides the compound 'prorogo,' which is not said of a 'lex,' but of something else, there are 'abrogo,' 'derogo,' 'subrogo,' 'obrogo,' all of which are said of a 'lex.' See Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq. and the article LEX, by the author of this note.

*Tenet,—videatur.*] Both these tenses may be right; and if they are, they are merely an example of the flexibility of the Roman language in expressing a slight difference. It is not owing to 'videor' being used that the subjunctive is used; for 'videor' expresses a man's opinion or the common opinion. When a Roman lawyer gives a 'responsum,' he generally uses the word 'videtur' to express what we call the better opinion; as in Dig. 15. tit. 3. s. 16, and numerous other places.

*Sociorum, &c.*] The meaning of the term 'socii,' as applied to

the Italians, requires an historical explanation. See Smith's Dict. of Antiq., Socii. It is here used in a different sense to signify the native inhabitants of a Roman province. They are called 'genus humanissimum' because these Asiatic cities had long been the seat of an intelligent and literary people, who cultivated commerce and all the social arts. The 'publicani' or farmers of the revenue were an important body in the Roman state. They were the monied men of the times, and formed almost an order of their own. They belonged to the equestrian class, from which Cicero was sprung, and he had always defended their interests and endeavoured to keep this powerful body on good terms with the senate. The functions of the 'publicani' were the same as those of the French 'fermiers généraux' before the revolution of 1789, and the history of these 'farmers general' in France is the best commentary that we can have on the Roman system.

The 'negotiatores' were men who carried on the business of money lending and trading in the provinces, and though they are distinct from the 'publicani,' they must have been intimately connected with them. Cicero both here and elsewhere (Ad Att. ii. 16) distinguishes them from the 'pub-

mentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus; quae persaepe sapientissimis viris acciderunt ut, quemadmodum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi fortunae impetum superare non possent. Tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas, ita tamen ut ea dormientem gubernatorem vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit. 6. Constat enim ea provincia primum ex eo genere sociorum quod est ex hominum omni genere humanissimum: deinde ex eo genere civium, qui aut quod publicani sunt nos summa necessitudine attingunt, aut quod ita negotiantur ut locupletes sint nostri consulatus beneficio se incolumes fortunas habere arbitrantur.

II. 7. At enim inter hos ipsos existunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur injuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur. Quasi vero ego id putem non te aliquantum negotii sustinere. Intelligo permagnum esse negotium et maximi consilii; sed memento consilii me hoc esse negotium magis aliquanto quam fortunae putare. Quid est enim negotii continere eos quibus praesis, si te ipse contineas? Id autem sit magnum et difficile ceteris, sicut est difficillimum: tibi et fuit hoc semper facillimum et vero esse debuit, cujus natura talis est ut etiam sine doctrina videatur moderata esse potuisse; ea autem adhibita doctrina est

licani;' as he does in other passages from the 'mercatores,' who carried about their goods. See the use of 'mercatores' in Caesar's Gallic War, i. 1. These 'negotiatores,' as Cicero here says, were indebted to him for suppressing the conspiracy of Catiline in his consulship, and thus maintaining credit in Asia and elsewhere. The commercial operations of Asia were so considerable as to affect the state of credit at Rome, and a failure of the Asiatic 'negotiatores' would at any time derange the money market at Rome. (Cic.

Pro Leg. Manil. 7; and Dureau de la Malle, Économie politique des Romains, ii. 390.)

2. *At enim*] "But you will say," a supposed objection, which Cicero answers in the next sentence. See De Sen. c. 6. Ernesti thinks that 'id' should be erased before 'putem.' See c. 1.

*Videatur—potuisse;*] This verb 'possum' often causes great difficulties to students in rendering into English, owing to the confusion that is made between it and the use of our auxiliary verbs, as they are called. But 'possum' is a



quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit. Tu quum pecuniae, quum voluptati, quum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes ut facis, erit, credo, periculum ne improbum negotiatorem, paullo cupidiores publicanum comprimere non possis. Nam Graeci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur ut quendam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent.

8. Atque haec nunc, non ut facias sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas, scribo. Praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium sic ut nullum te signum,

word of positive meaning, which contains the elementary notion of power (pot, is) and possibility; and when such forms as 'could,' 'could have,' or the like, appear in English, they are represented by some form of 'possum,' and not of the verb which depends upon 'possum.' Thus "potest fieri" means "it is possible," "it could be done;" "potuit fieri," "it was possible," "it could have been done." The text may be translated, "you, whose natural disposition is such, that any one may believe that it could have displayed self-restraint, even if it had received no training or discipline." See c. 4, "videtur potuisse," and c. 5, "fieri potuit."

*Credo,*] Used in a kind of ironical manner. It is used in De Sen. 7, "credo, nisi," &c., in a different way; "granted, if you don't," &c.

*Sic te ita viventem—ut*] Here the word 'ita' has its proper function, of referring to the mode of life of Quintus, described in the preceding sentence; and 'sic' has 'ut' for its correlative.

*Summo cum imperio*] As praetor Quintus had the 'imperium,' as to which term see the

note on c. 7.

*Triennium*] Ursino proposes to read 'biennium.'

*Signum, &c.*] Asia was rich in works of art, things which often attracted the cupidity of Roman governors, as in the notorious case of Verres, the governor of Sicily. 'Signum' is a work of art made by cutting, and hence any hard material cut into form by the chisel, or the graving tool. Forcellini says that it is also used to signify a work of art that is cast; and the word may have obtained this extended signification. 'Statua' is more limited in signification; and has reference to a figure 'placed.' 'Vas' comprehends utensils, cups and the like, chased and ornamented. 'Mancipium,' which in its general sense is an object of property, for the transfer of the ownership of which the Romans used a peculiar form (Gaius, i. 119), has sometimes the particular sense of 'slave;' but it means 'slave' simply as an object of property. "Conditio pecuniae" means literally "a state or condition of pecuniary circumstances;" "no man's wealth tempted you." 'Pecunia' in its proper and large sense means 'a property' (Gaius, ii. 104):

nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cujusquam, nulla conditio pecuniae, quibus rebus abundat ista provincia, ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit. 9. Quid autem reperiri tam eximium aut tam expetendum potest quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam, non latere in tenebris neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiae, in oculis clarissimae provinciae, atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis perterrerer homines? non sumptu exauriri? non adventu commoveri? esse quocunque veneris et publice et privatim maximam laetitiam, quum urbs custodem non tyrannum, domus hospitem non expilatorem recepisse videatur?

III. 10. His autem in rebus jam te usus ipse profecto erudivit nequaquam satis esse ipsum has te habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum sed omnes ministros imperii tui sociis et civibus et rei publicae praestare videare. Quamquam legatos habes eos qui ipsi per se habituri sint rationem dignitatis suae, de quibus honore et dignitate et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim quum

money is 'pecunia numerata.' Compare the expression in Horace, Carm. i. 1, 'Attalicis conditionibus.'

*Itineribus—perterrerer*] Ursino would alter 'perterrerer' to 'pro-teri,' but perhaps few persons will be disposed to follow him. Cicero alludes to the progresses of the Roman governors, with their trains, on which occasions the provincials were often called upon for contributions. When M. Cicero entered upon his government of Cilicia, he complained that his predecessor, Appius Claudius Pulcher, had exhausted it (Ad Att. vi. 1). A story in Plutarch's Life of Cato

(c. 12, 13) will help to explain the text.

3. *Legatos*] The 'legati' here alluded to, 'persons commissioned,' were in a manner deputies or representatives of the governor. Tubero is L. Aelius Tubero, who had a son Quintus, a jurist, and also an historical writer. See Krause, Vitae et Frag. Vet. Hist. Rom. Cicero says of Tubero, "quum scribat historiam," "since he is a writer of history," and as he mentions his 'Annales,' the work of Tubero was one that was either now completed, or written to some extent.

scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere quos velit et possit imitari: Allienus autem noster est quum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi. Nam quid ego de Gratidio dicam? quem certo scio ita laborare de existimatione sua ut propter amorem in nos fratrum etiam de nostra labore. 11. Quaestorem habes non tuo iudicio delectum sed eum quem sors dedit. Hunc oportet et sua sponte esse moderatum, et tuis institutis ac praeceptis obtemperare. Quorum si quis forte esset sordidior, ferres eatenus quoad per se negligeret eas leges quibus esset adstrictus; non ut ea potestate quam tu ad dignitatem permisisses ad quaestum uteretur. Neque enim mihi sane placet, praesertim quum hi mores tantum jam ad nimiam lenitatem et ad ambitionem incubuerint, scrutari te omnes sordes, excutere unum quemque eorum; sed quanta sit in quoque fides, tantum cuique committere. Atque inter hos, eos quos tibi comites et adjuutores negotio-

*Quaestorem habes*] The quaestor of a proconsul or propraetor was appointed by lot, as the passage shows, and others also (Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 13; Ad Div. ii. 19). His duties chiefly related to the pecuniary accounts of the province, and to correspondence with the aerarium, or treasury at Rome.

*Eatenus quoad*] Cicero means to say, that the governor need not to look narrowly into these matters, for which the quaestor was personally answerable, according to the terms by which the nature of his office bound him. 'Quoad,' like 'adeo,' is composed of a preposition, and the pronominal adverb in 'o,' which must be viewed as an accusative case. The preposition 'tenuis' is only attached to the pronominal forms in 'a,' as 'quatenus,' 'hac-tenus,' &c. 'Quoad' is generally used alone, without an adverb to

which it refers.

*Hi mores*] "The habits of the present times," as Terence says (Phormio, i. 2, 5), "ut nunc sunt mores."

The greatest difficulty in the Latin, and perhaps in all languages, is the rendering of particular words like 'ambitio,' which from a plain simple meaning, as that 'of going about,' in this instance, have by usage acquired a very complex signification. Cicero says, that "the habits of the present day have declined so much to excessive indulgence, and to seeking for popularity," &c. The notion of 'ambitio' will be best explained by reference to the history of 'ambitus,' or canvassing for the offices at Rome, in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. (ambitus), by the author of this note.

*Comites*] This word has a

rum publicorum dedit ipsa res publica, dumtaxat finibus iis praestabis quos ante praescripsi.

IV. 12. Quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus, aut ex necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti, qui quasi ex cohorte praetoris appellari solent, horum non modo facta sed etiam dicta omnia praestanda nobis sunt. Sed habes eos tecum quos possis recte facientes facile diligere; minus consulentes existimationi tuae facillime coercere; a quibus rudis quum esses videtur potuisse tua liberalitas decipi: nam ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur: nunc vero tertius hic annus habeat integritatem eandem quam superiores, cautiorem etiam ac diligentiore. 13. Sint aures tuae quae id quod audiunt existimentur audire, non in quas fite et simulate quaestus causa insusurretur. Sit anulus tuus

technical meaning. The 'comites' of a governor were those who were immediately attached to him in the administration of the province. See Hor. i. Ep. viii., "comiti scribaeque Neronis." This is one of the many terms which passed from the republican to the imperial period, during the latter part of which certain high officers under the empire were called 'comites,' whence the modern 'count.' It is not out of the way to suggest to a student, that many of the institutions of modern Europe arose from the practice of the later Roman empire, and had their names, and something of their character also, in the republican period.

4. *Convictionibus*,] See what Cicero says of the word 'convivium,' De Sen. c. 13. 'Apparitionibus' means those who were 'apparitores;' and 'apparitores' were those who were in attendance on 'magistratus,' to do their bidding. They were of various kinds,

with various names: for instance, a 'lictor' was an 'apparitor;' an interpreter was an 'apparitor.' (Cic. Ad Div. xiii. 54.) As an instance, see also De Sen. 16, 'viatores.' Such officers were not properly a part of the 'praetoria cohors,' or those directly attached to the governor, who were the 'comites;' but they are here called "quasi ex cohorte praetoris," to denote their inferior condition. The 'cohors' contained, besides official persons, young Romans of family, who attended the governor as volunteers. Comp. Hor. i. Ep. iii. 6, "Quid studiosa cohors operum struit?"

*Sint aures*, &c.] Here we have 'quae . . . existimentur,' with a clause of positive affirmation, "id quod audiunt" interposed. "Let ears such as are supposed to listen to what they hear be yours, not ears," &c.

*Anulus*] That is, the seal of the governor, which he must not



non ut vas aliquod sed tamquam ipse tu; non minister alienae voluntatis sed testis tuae. Accensus sit eo numero quo eum majores nostri esse voluerunt, qui hoc non in beneficii loco sed in laboris ac muneris non temere nisi libertis suis deferebant; quibus illi quidem non multo secus ac servis imperabant. Sit lictor non suae sed tuae lenitatis apparitor; majoraque praeferant fascēs illi ac securēs dignitatis insignia quam potestatis. Toti denique sit provinciae cognitum tibi omnium quibus praesis salutem, liberos, famam, fortunas esse carissimas. Denique haec opinio sit, non modo iis qui aliquid acceperint sed iis etiam qui dederint te inimicum, si id cognoveris, futurum. Neque verò quisquam dabit, quum erit hoc perspectum, nihil per eos qui simulant se apud te multum posse abs te solere impetrari. 14. Nec tamen haec oratio mea est ejusmodi ut te in tuos aut durum esse nimium aut suspiciosum velim. Nam si quis est eorum, qui tibi biennii spatio numquam in suspicionem avaritiae venerit, ut ego Caesium et Chaerippum et Labeonem et audio et, quia cognovi, existimo, nihil est quod non et iis et si quis est alius ejusdemmodi et committi et credi rectissime putem. Sed si quis est in quo jam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris, huic nihil credideris, nullam partem existimationis tuae commiseris.

allow to be used, like some common utensil. It is conjectured that 'minister' may allude to one Statius, a freed man of Quintus, who was supposed to abuse his master's confidence.

*Accensus*] He was an apparitor, and attended when the governor sat as judge to make proclamations in the court, and the like. See c. 4, above. As to 'deferebant,' see De Am. c. 20.

*Huic nihil credideris,*] 'Credo' contains 'cre,' and 'da,' to put;

hence to entrust "a thing to a person: 'hoc credo tibi.' This form of the subjunctive as a kind of command or wish is common: "huic nihil credideris," "I would not have you to trust such a one at all." With the second person of the present, it is less common, and is said to be used in a more general or indefinite way; "isto bono utare dum adsit," &c. De Sen. c. 10. See Key's Grammar, 1175.

V. 15. In provincia vero ipsa, si quem es nactus qui in tuam familiaritatem penitus intrarit, qui nobis ante fuerit ignotus, huic quantum credendum sit vide; non quin possint multi esse provinciales viri boni; sed hoc sperare licet, judicare periculosum est. Multis enim simulationum involucris tegitur et quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur unius cujusque natura: frons, oculi, vultus persaepe mentiuntur; oratio vero saepissime. Quamobrem qui potes reperire ex eo genere hominum, qui pecuniae cupiditate adducti careant iis rebus omnibus, a quibus nos divulsi esse non possumus, te autem alienum hominem ament ex animo ac non sui commodi causa simulent? Mihi quidem permagnum videtur; praesertim si iidem homines privatum non fere quemquam, praetores semper omnes amant. Quo ex genere si quem forte tui cognosti amantior, fieri enim potuit, quam temporis, hunc vero ad tuum numerum

5. *Non quin possint*] As to the use of 'quin' see De Sen. c. 17. This expression is elliptical, the verb which should go with 'non' being omitted; as we say 'not but there may be,' which means 'I do not say that there are not.'

*Quamobrem qui — simulent?*] Lambinus amends the passage, which he says is not intelligible. P. Manutius denies that "qui pecuniae," &c. refers to "ex eo genere hominum," &c. "Wherefore how you can find among such a class of men (those) who, from greed of gain, are without all those things (those virtues), from which we can never detach ourselves, and yet love you a stranger sincerely, and do not pretend affection for their own interest?" But the question is 'find whom?' for all that the sentence determines is a class among whom he must look

in order to find. 'Qui pecuniae,' &c. and 'te . . ament,' &c. refer to a suppressed 'eos,' just as we may say "non possum reperire qui me ament." The addition of "ex eo genere" merely limits the persons among whom one has to look. But still a difficulty lies in the 'qui pecuniae,' &c. for it is an odd sort of phrase to say, out of such a class you cannot find those who are knaves, and yet sincerely love you; but as the sentence stands this is what Cicero says, and the sentence may be right. The words "quo ex genere," which follow, clearly refer to "ex eo genere;" and as Cicero here admits, the possibility of some of the 'id genus' having more affection for Quintus than regard to their own interest, it follows that the "ex eo genere" is a class referred to (provinciales), and not a class defined by 'qui pecuniae.'

libenter adscribito: sin autem id non perspicies, nullum genus erit in familiaritate cavendum magis: propterea quod et omnes vias pecuniae norunt et omnia pecuniae causa faciunt; et quicum victuri non sunt, ejus existimationi consulere non curant. 16. Atque etiam e Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam familiaritates, praeter hominum perpaucorum, si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni. Sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam assentationem eruditi. Quos ego universos adhiberi liberaliter, optimum quemque hospitio amicitiaque conjungi dico oportere: nimiae familiaritates eorum neque tam fideles sunt, non enim audent adversari nostris voluntatibus, et [vero] invident non nostris solum verum etiam suis.

VI. 17. Jam qui in ejusmodi rebus in quibus vereor etiam ne durior sim cautus esse velim ac diligens, quo me animo in servis esse censes? quos quidem quum omnibus in locis tum praecipue in provinciis regere debemus. Quo de genere multa praecipi possunt; sed hoc et brevissimum

*Adscribito:*] This is the form which Professor Key called the 'imperative,' being the stronger and more authoritative form; 'you shall, you must,' &c. The other, and less authoritative form, 'adscribe,' he calls the 'jussive.' Grammar, 592. As to this use of 'adscribere,' compare Horace, i. Ep. ix. 13, "scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque."

*E Graecis*] This shows that the 'provinciales' of whom he has been speaking, these money-loving men, were not Greeks, but the Roman 'negotiatores,' men whose love of lucre was unbounded.

*Sic vero*] 'Sic' is rightly explained by P. Manutius as "times now go."

*Tam fideles*] Ernesti has a

suspicion that 'tam' should be 'jam;' a very ill-founded one. 'Tam' is used like 'ita,' De Sen. 20, "non ita longa;" Ad Q. Fr. c. 11, "nam ita acerbum." As to "neque tam et—[vero]," &c. see De Am. c. 27. The 'vero' before 'invident' seems out of place. See Orelli's note.

6. *Diligens*,] A word sometimes mistranslated. See what is said of 'diligo' and 'amo,' De Am. c. 27. 'Diligens' implies separation, selection, and hence care, attention, exactness. Shortly after Cicero says "delectus . . . percautus et diligens."

*In servis*] The reading 'in servos' is manifestly wrong. The meaning is in 'the matter of slaves.'

est et facillime teneri potest, ut ita se gerant in istis Asiaticis itineribus ut si iter Appia via faceres, neve interesse quidquam putent utrum Trallis an Formias venerint. Ac si quis est ex servis egregie fidelis, sit in domesticis rebus et privatis: quae res ad officium imperii tui atque ad aliquam partem rei publicae pertinebunt, de iis rebus ne quid attingat. Multa enim quae recte committi servis fidelibus possunt, tamen sermonis et vituperationis vitandae causa committenda non sunt. 18. Sed nescio quo pacto ad praecipiendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea, quum id mihi propositum initio non fuisset. Quid enim ei praecipiam quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intelligam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me, usu vero etiam superiorem? Sed tamen si ad ea quae faceres auctoritas accederet mea, tibi ipsa illa putavi fore jucundiora. Quare sint haec fundamenta dignitatis tuae; tua primum integritas et continentia: deinde omnium qui tecum sunt pudor: delectus in familiaritatibus et provincialium hominum et Graecorum percautus et diligens: familiae gravis et constans disciplina. 19. Quae quum honesta sint in his privatis nostris quotidianisque rationibus, in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia, divina videantur necesse est. Haec institutio

*Ut ita—ut si]* The first 'ut' refers to a praeceptum, one of the things "quae praecipi possunt," and is followed, according to the usage in such cases, by the subjunctive 'gerant.' The 'ita' and the second 'ut' show the terms of the comparison, the second term of which contains an 'if' (si), as in De Am. 16, "ita amare . . . ut si aliquando esset osurus."

A difficulty has been made about 'faceres,' and it has been supposed that 'facias' ought to be in its place; but the translation would

not be the same. It means "they must behave in those progresses of yours in Asia, just as they would have done if you had been travelling along the Appia via." They must behave when they have come to an Asiatic town, Trallis, for instance, as if they had come to an Italian town, Formiae, for instance.

*Nescio quo pacto]* A little further on there is 'nescio cujus.' 'Nescio' and 'quis' go together as one word; just as 'sunt qui,' 'est qui,' in certain cases.



atque haec disciplina potest sustinere in rebus statuendis et decernendis eam severitatem qua tu in iis rebus usus es ex quibus nonnullas simultates cum magna mea laetitia susceptas habemus. Nisi forte me Paconii nescio cujus hominis ne Graeci quidem ac Mysii aut Phrygis potius querelis moveri putas; aut Tuscenii hominis furiosi ac sordidi vocibus, cujus tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatem eripuisti summa cum aequitate.

VII. 20. Haec et cetera plena severitatis, quae statuisti in ista provincia, non facile sine summa integritate sustineremus. Quare sit summa in jure dicundo severitas, dummodo ea ne varietur gratia, sed conservetur aequabilis. Sed tamen parvi refert abs te ipso jus dici aequabiliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet quibus tu ejus muneris aliquam partem concesseris. Ac mihi quidem videtur non sane magna varietas esse negotiorum in administranda Asia, sed ea tota jurisdictione maxime sustineri. In qua scientiae praesertim provincialis ratio ipsa expedita est: constantia est adhibenda et gravitas quae resistat non solum gratiae verum etiam suspicioni. 21. Adjungenda etiam

*Ac Mysii aut Phrygis, &c.]* Some MSS. have 'at,' others have 'sed.' 'Ac' and 'et' seem to be often confounded in the MSS.

7. *In jure dicundo]* He "qui jus dicit" was said to have 'jurisdictio,' to have the power of declaring the law. Quintus, having the 'summum imperium,' had consequently the complete judicial authority in the sense in which the Romans understood it, and as it is defined (Dig. 2, tit. 1, De Jurisdictione). Cicero is here referring to the conduct of Quintus in his 'jurisdictio;' and the advice which he gives is that "he observe the greatest strictness (severitas) in the discharge of his jurisdictio,

provided this strictness is never departed from through favour, but is maintained invariably the same." If "in jure dicundo" is translated "in the administration of justice," it is not exact, for the office of him who had jurisdictio extended to other matters than matters in dispute. For instance, certain acts were only valid if done before him, as manumissio and adoptio. On this matter the reader may consult the articles Imperium and Jurisdictio, by the author of this note, in Smith's Dict. of Antiq.

*Ea tota, &c.]* 'Ea tota' refers to Asia, the burthen of the administration of which, Cicero observes, lies chiefly in the 'jurisdictio.'

est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia. His rebus nuper C. Octavius jucundissimus fuit, apud quem primus lictor quievit, tacuit accensus; quoties quisque voluit dixit et quam voluit diu. Quibus ille rebus fortasse nimis lenis videretur, nisi haec lenitas illam severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur Sullani homines quae per vim et metum abstu-

*Facilitas in audiendo, &c.*] Here the qualities of a good judge are enumerated. He must be ready to listen. He must be mild in making his judgments (lenis in decernendo, for this is the true reading, not discernendo). What follows is not so clear. One sense of 'satisfacere' is to 'give security,' which is not applicable here. 'Disputando' is doubtful, and Manutius conjectures that it should be 'disceptando.' 'Disceptator,' as Cicero (*Orat. Part. c. 3*) defines it, is to be "rei sententiaeque moderator." Again Cicero says (*De Re Publica, v. 2*) "nec vero quisquam privatus erat disceptator aut arbiter litis, sed omnia conficiebantur judiciis regiis." Manutius explains 'satisfaciendo' to refer to the care of the judge in satisfying all parties, that is, as far as he can. This may be right, or it may not.

*C. Octavius*] Some MSS. have Cn., but Caius Octavius the proconsul of Macedonia is meant, the father of him who became the Emperor Augustus. Cicero here alludes to his praetorship at Rome, B.C. 61. He seems to have had the rare faculty of not being impatient, and of letting his suitors have their talk out, instead of continually interfering and meddling, as some judges do.

The 'primus lictor' is explained by Lipsius (*Op. 1. p. 727*, ed.

1675) to be the lictor who marched first, whose business was to clear the way—'submovere.' But perhaps the true reading is 'proximus,' of which 'primus' in the MSS. may be merely an abbreviation. The expression "proximus lictor" occurs on an inscription; and in Sallust (*Bell. Jug. 12*), and in Cicero (*De Divin. i. 28*; *Verr. ii. 5, c. 54*). He was the first lictor in rank, who held most immediate communication with the praetor. In the court of Octavius this lictor had nothing to do; the 'accensus,' or crier, had not to bawl out silence and to be continually making a noise under the pretence of suppressing it. All was quiet and orderly without the aid of these officious personages.

*Videretur,—tueretur.*] See a little further on 'videretur . . . mitigaretur.' These tenses must be translated "might have seemed;" "if he had not maintained," &c.; and so in the other passage. Cicero is not speaking of single things, but of a continued state of things.

*Sullani homines*] These were the men who were enriched during Sulla the dictator's arbitrary rule; men who in this season of proscription got others put to death in order to lay hands on their property. See Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*.

lerant reddere. Qui in magistratibus injuriose decreverant, eodem ipsis privatis erat jure parendum. Haec illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi multis condimentis humanitatis mitigaretur. 22. Quod si haec lenitas grata Romae est, ubi tanta arrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita hominum licentia, denique tot magistratus, tot auxilia, tanta vis [populi], tanta Senatus auctoritas; quam jucunda tandem praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse, in qua tanta multitudo civium, tanta sociorum, tot urbes, tot civitates unius hominis nutum intuentur; ubi nullum auxilium est, nulla conquestio, nullus Senatus, nulla contio? Quare quum permagni hominis est et quum ipsa natura moderati tum vero etiam doctrina atque optimarum artium studiis eruditi, sic se adhibere in tanta potestate ut nulla alia potestas ab iis quibus is praesit desideretur.

VIII. 23. Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae

*In magistratibus]* Those who while they held office had made any judgments (decreta) contrary to law, were compelled after they returned to a private condition to abide by the law (jure) as they had themselves declared it.

*Quod si haec lenitas, &c.]* The reasons given for this 'lenitas' being agreeable at Rome, seem to Manutius rather strange; and perhaps they may seem so at first sight. The 'lenitas' as it appears was in the manner and behaviour of Octavius, for he was strict (severus) in his judgments. Now his manner was liked even at Rome, where arrogance, unbridled freedom, and unlimited licence prevailed, that is, his gentle qualities were admired though they might not be imitated; and these judicial merits of his were not the less esteemed on account of their being of less importance at Rome, where

there were so many other magistrates, so many kinds of appeal (auxilia), &c. It is not then, as Manutius thinks, that we might suppose that his good qualities ought to have been esteemed the less, because those who were wronged by him had a remedy; but he was esteemed for his merits, even in a place where such merits were not common, and where the absence of them was less mischievous, because there was a remedy against the ill-conduct of any one magistratus in the various powers which were centered at Rome. "How much more valuable," says Cicero, "would such qualities be in Asia?" &c. This seems to be the meaning of the passage.

1. *Cyrus ille, &c.]* See De Sen. c. 9. Africanus is Scipio Africanus the younger. (De Sen. c. 17.) This sentence is an instance of

fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem justī imperiī, cuius summa gravitas ab illo philosopho cum singulari comitate conjungitur,—quos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solebat, nullum est enim praetermissum in iis officium diligentis et moderati imperiī—eaeque si sic coluit ille qui privatus futurus numquam fuit, quonam modo retinenda sunt iis quibus imperium ita datum est ut redderent, et ab iis legibus datum est ad quas revertendum est? 24. Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda iis qui praesunt aliis, ut ii qui erunt in eorum imperio sint quam beatissimi: quod tibi et esse antiquissimum, et ab initio fuisse ut primum Asiam attigisti, constante fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est. Est autem non modo ejus qui sociis et civibus, sed etiam ejus qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus praesit, eorum quibus

irregular construction, of which there are examples both in ancient and modern writers. There is nothing for 'quos quidem libros' to refer to; and after the completion of this disjointed sentence with the words 'moderati imperiī,' there is nothing for the word 'eae' to refer to, except the general sense, which may be collected from what has immediately preceded. Yet there is no difficulty in seeing the meaning of the whole sentence.

*Antiquissimum,*] 'Antiquus,' or 'anticus,' that which is front or foremost, corresponds to 'posticus,' that which comes behind. The sense of 'first and foremost,' which 'antiquissimum' has in this passage, is therefore its primitive meaning; and 'most ancient' is a derived meaning. Examples of 'antiquior' and 'antiquissimus' in the sense of 'antiquissimum' in this passage are collected by Forcellini.

*Ut primum—attigisti,*] 'Ut' has this sense: "from the time when you first set foot in Asia," even without 'primum,' and is generally followed in such case by the perfect indicative. It is, as Professor Key remarks, only a form of 'quod,' the original form of 'ut' being 'cut.' As to the various usages of 'ut,' see the exposition in Key's Latin Grammar, 1457. It is not difficult to trace the various senses of 'ut' to the primary sense of 'quod,' 'this or that.'

*Celebratum est.*] A word somewhat difficult to render, partly because we have an English word from it, with a vague meaning. 'Celebro' is to 'frequent,' 'to fill, as a crowd does.' Wherever this word or any form of the word, as 'celebris,' 'celebritas,' occurs, there is the notion of many persons or many things, not a repetition by a single person, or of single things.



praesit commodis utilitatique servire. 25. Cujus quidem generis constare inter omnes video abs te summam adhiberi diligentiam: nullum aes alienum novum contrahi civitatibus: vetere autem magno et gravi multas abs te esse liberatas: urbes complures dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas: nullas esse in oppidis seditiones, nullas discordias: provideri abs te ut civitates optimatium consiliis administrentur: sublata Mysiae latrocinia: caedes multis locis repressas: pacem tota provincia constitutam: neque solum illa itinerum atque agrorum, sed multo etiam plura et majora oppidorum et fanorum furta et latrocinia esse depulsa: remotam a fama et a fortunis et ab otio locupletium illam acerbissimam ministram praetorum avaritiae calumniam: sumptus et

*Nullum aes—novum*] These provincial cities were often loaded with heavy debt, which may have originated in various ways; sometimes through the extortion of the Roman governors; sometimes through such contributions as are mentioned in the next chapter. Cicero (*Ad Att.* v. 21) mentions the towns of Asia getting relief from their debts. This money was often borrowed from wealthy Romans, of which we have a remarkable instance in the case of Salamis in Cyprus, a town which borrowed money from two Romans at 48 per cent.; but the real lender was M. Brutus, afterwards the assassin of Caesar. The story is told by Cicero (*Ad Att.* v. 21; vi. 1, 2, 3); and there is a discussion of the question by Savigny, *Vermischte Schriften*, i. 386.

*Samum, &c.*] Samos, the chief town of the island of Samos. It does not appear how the money was raised for the restoration of

these cities. Probably public buildings and useful public works were gone to decay, and were restored by Quintus. The correspondence of Pliny, while he was governor of Bithynia (*Ep. lib. x.*) with the emperor Trajan, contains several examples of the care of the Roman governor to restore the decayed towns and to improve them.

*Optimatum*] ‘Optimates’ is one of Cicero’s names for the party at Rome which he supported, the aristocratic class. Here he means a corresponding class in the cities of Asia, the more respectable class, as the class who claim the title call themselves. These Asiatic cities had a democratic constitution, and Cicero in his aristocratic tone complains that in some of them, shoemakers, belt-makers, artizans, and shopkeepers (*Pro Flacco*, c. 7, 8) had taken part in the public deliberations.

*Calumniam*.] The word ‘ca-

tributa civitatum ab omnibus qui earum civitatum fines incolant tolerari aequabiliter: facillimos esse aditus ad te: patere aures tuas querelis omnium: nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali, sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo; toto denique [in] imperio nihil acerbum esse, nihil crudele, atque omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis, humanitatis.

IX. 26. Quantum vero illud est beneficium tuum, quod iniquo et gravi vectigali Aedilicio cum magnis nostris simultatibus Asiam liberasti! Etenim si unus homo nobilis

lumnia' contains the same root as the verb 'caluo' (calvo), 'to cheat, to deceive,' as we learn from the Latin grammarians. (See Forcellini, Calvo.) But the original meaning of 'calvo' or 'calvor' is to put some impediment in the way: "si calvitur pedemve struit." (Dirksen, Uebersicht, &c., der Zwölf-Tafel-Fragmente, p. 144); and Gaius (Dig. 50, tit. 16. s. 233.) The termination belongs to the same class of words as 'alumnus,' 'autumnus,' &c. 'Calumniari,' as defined by a Roman jurist (Marcian, Dig. 48, tit. 16, s. 1), is 'to make a false charge;' and Paulus (Rec. Sent. i. 5, 1) defines 'calumniosus' to be one "who knowingly and purposely and with fraudulent design schemes to trouble another." Comp. Gaius, iv. 178. Cicero means to say "that the getting up of false charges against persons, that most grievous way of ministering to a praetor's avarice, under the government of Quintus, never troubled the good name, fortune, or tranquillity of the wealthy."

*Sumptus et tributa*] "The expenditure and the taxation were borne equally, fairly by all." 'Tributum' here means taxes ge-

nerally, whatever they might be.

*Tribunali,*] The tribunal was the place where the governor sat when he exercised jurisdiction. It was capable of containing many persons, for others besides the praetor or magistratus, 'qui jus dicebat,' sometimes sat by him; on the bench, as we say.

9. *Vectigali Aedilicio*] It appears from this passage and others (Ad Div. ii. 11; viii. 6, 8, 9; Ad Att. v. 21; vi. 1) that the provinces were required to contribute to the expenses of the magnificent games with which the aediles amused the people at Rome. The money appears to have been called for by the governors under the name of a gift, à benevolence, which could not be refused. Quintus by an 'edictum,' or rule made during his administration, declared that no money should be raised for this purpose. This gave occasion to a Roman noble to say that he had been defrauded of 20 millions of sesterces; if the numerals mean that (Smith's Dict. of Antiq., Sestertius).

*Nobilis*] Had a fixed political meaning. A Roman noble was a man whose ancestors had enjoyed a curule office, or who had enjoyed

queritur palam te quod edixeris, NE AD LUDOS PECUNIAE DECERNERENTUR, H-S cc sibi eripuisse, quanta tandem pecunia penderetur, si omnium nomine quicumque Romae ludos facerent quod erat jam institutum erogaretur? Quamquam has querelas hominum nostrorum illo consilio oppressimus, quod in Asia nescio quonam modo Romae quidem non mediocri cum admiratione laudatur, quod—quum ad templum monumentumque nostrum civitates pecunias decrevissent, quumque id et pro meis magnis meritis et pro tuis maximis beneficiis summa sua voluntate fecissent, nominatimque lex exciperet UT AD TEMPLUM MONUMENTUM[QUE] CAPERE LICERET, quumque id quod dabatur non esset interiturum, sed in ornamentis templi futurum, ut non mihi potius quam populo Romano ac Diis immortalibus datum videretur—tamen id in quo erat dignitas, erat lex, erat eorum qui faciebant voluntas, accipiendum non putavi, quum aliis de causis tum etiam ut animo aequiore ferrent ii quibus nec deberetur nec liceret.

one himself. Cicero, who originally belonged to the equestrian ordo, was still 'novus homo,' a new man: he had no noble ancestors; though when he obtained the praetorship he became noble. As to the word 'nobilis' and some other political terms, Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq. may be consulted. Art. Nobilis.

*Ut ad templum, &c.]* This is a citation from a lex, and apparently from one of those which related to repetundae or the offence of a governor taking money or other things improperly from the provincials. The 'que' after 'monumentum' should be omitted, conformably to the style of Roman legislation. Cicero says that they had stopped these complaints at Rome by refusing the honour of a temple for which the cities (of

Asia) had voted money, though the law allowed money to be applied to such a purpose. This kind of adulation was the beginning of a system that went further under the emperors, to whom temples were erected in the provinces.

*Quibus nec deberetur nec liceret.]* This use of the subjunctive does not depend on the 'ut—ferrent.' If Cicero had used the indicative, he would not have expressed himself with the generality which he intended. Comp. a passage in the oration Pro Cn. Plancio, c. 26, "me unum ex iis feci qui ad aquas venissent." This use of the subjunctive seems to depend partly on the subordinate position given to the words, when they are placed at the end of a clause. If Cicero had intended to speak particularly

27. Quapropter incunbe toto animo et studio omni in eam rationem qua adhuc usus es, ut eos quos tuae fidei potestatique Senatus populusque Romanus commisit et credidit diligas, et omni ratione tueare ut esse quam beatissimos velis. Quod si te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis prae-fecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuae consulere eorum commodis et utilitati salutique servire. Quum vero ei generi hominum prae-simus, non modo in quo ipsa sit sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus a quibus accepimus. 28. Non enim me hoc jam dicere pudebit, praesertim in ea vita atque in iis rebus gestis in quibus non potest residere inertiae aut levitatis ulla suspicio, nos ea quae consecuti sumus iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos, quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque traditae. Quare praeter communem fidem quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere videmur, ut quorum praeceptis sumus eruditi apud eos ipsos quod ab iis didicerimus velimus expromere.

X. 29. Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii et doctrinae Plato tum denique fore beatas res publicas putavit, si aut docti ac sapientes homines eas regere coepissent, aut ii qui regerent omne suum studium in doctrina ac sapientia

of those who visited the waters, the form of the sentence would have been different.

*Ipsa sit—humanitas,*] Orelli has 'ipso.' 'Humanitas' is properly the characteristic of the human animal 'homo;' but it has various significations in the Roman writers. It is here used in a sense, which the following sentence explains, to signify the temper and disposition which are formed by the cultivation of letters and of the liberal arts. Cicero ascribes his

own success in life to the study of the literary productions of the Greek (monumenta) and to the following of the Greek discipline in his philosophical and oratorical pursuits.

10. *Plato*] A passage to this effect occurs in one of the letters attributed to Plato, and in the Republic. The vision of the philosopher, as to the "docti ac sapientes" having the administration of states, is not accomplished yet.



collocassent. Hanc conjunctionem videlicet potestatis ac sapientiae saluti censuit civitatibus esse posse. Quod fortasse aliquando universae rei publicae nostrae, nunc quidem profecto isti provinciae contigit, ut is in ea summam potestatem haberet cui in doctrina cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda plurimum a pueritia studii fuisset et temporis. 30. Quare cura ut hic annus qui ad laborem tuum accessit idem ad salutem Asiae prorogatus esse videatur; quoniam[que] in te retinendo fuit Asia felicior quam nos in deducendo, perfice ut laetitia provinciae desiderium nostrum leniatur. Etenim si in promerendo ut tibi tanti honores haberentur, quanti haud scio an nemini, fuisti omnium diligentissimus, multo majorem in his honoribus tuendis adhibere diligentiam debes. 31. Equidem de isto genere honorum quid sentirem scripsi ad te ante. Semper eos putavi, si vulgares essent, viles; si temporis causa constituerentur, leves; si vero, id quod ita factum est, meritis tuis tribuerentur, existimabam multam tibi in iis honoribus tuendis operam esse ponendam. Quare quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris, in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas vides, in omnibus rebus quas statues, quas decernes, quas ages, quid tantis hominum opinionibus, tantis te de judiciis, tantis honoribus debeas, cogitabis. Id autem erit ejusmodi ut consulas omnibus, ut medeare incommodis hominum, provideas saluti, ut te parentem Asiae et dici et haberi velis.

XI. 32. Atque huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam afferunt publicani, quibus si adversamur,

*Haud scio an nemini,*] See De Sen. c. 16.

11. *Publicani,*] He calls them an 'ordo,' as the senators were called an 'ordo,' and the equites. The 'publicani' belonged, as already observed, to the 'equestris ordo,'

and they supported Cicero in his proceedings in the affair of Catiline, whose designs tended to the destruction of all credit. Cicero's character of them is not a good one; for he says that if Quintus let them have their own way, these

ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica conjunctum et a nobis et a re publica dijungemus. Sin autem omnibus in rebus obsequemur, funditus eos perire patiemur quorum non modo saluti sed etiam commodis consulere debemus. Haec est una, si vere cogitare volumus, in toto imperio tuo difficultas. Nam esse abstinentem, continere omnes cupiditates, suos coercere, juris aequabilem tenere rationem, facilem se in rebus cognoscendis, in hominibus audiendis admittendisque praebere, praeclarum magis est quam difficile. Non est enim positum in labore aliquo sed in quadam inductione animi atque voluntate. 33. Illa causa publicanorum quantam acerbiter afferrat sociis intelleximus ex civibus, qui nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis non tam de portorio quam de non-

farmers of the taxes would oppress the province. The management of these greedy fellows was the great difficulty in the administration of Quintus.

*In rebus cognoscendis,*] This means, in hearing and determining such matters as came before him, particularly in his 'jurisdictio.' Examples of 'cognosco,' in this judicial sense, are supplied by Forcellini.

*Portoriis*] 'Portoria' were duties levied, not only on goods imported into a country by sea, but on goods in their transit through a country, as for instance in passing a bridge (Sueton. Vitell. c. 14; Dig. 24. tit. 1. s. 21, and 19. tit. 2. s. 60. § 8), or at certain barriers. See the passage in Pliny, Hist. Nat. xii. 14; and Dureau de la Malle, Écon. Polit. des Romains, ii. 451. These 'portoria' were a most intolerable grievance, like the same class of payments made in France before the Revolution, which were demanded of a

man in every direction where he could turn himself with his goods, by land or by water; and, like Welsh turnpikes, so notorious a few years back.

The 'portitores' were the collectors of these duties, who had power to rummage a man's goods, as modern custom-house officers do, and to open letters. A question arose during the administration of Quintus, whether the 'portorium circumvectionis,' or a duty on goods taken from one part of the province to another, could be claimed by the publicani in Asia. The question was between the publicani and the 'negotiationes;' and Cicero, in a letter to Quintus, gave his opinion that the claims of the publicani could not be maintained (Ad Att. ii. 16); but Quintus had informed Cicero before the arrival of Cicero's letter, that he had referred the question to the Roman senate, pursuant to the recommendation of his official advisers (de consilii sententia).

nullis injuriis portitorum querebantur. Quare non ignoro quid sociis accidat in ultimis terris, quum audierim in Italia querelas civium. Hic te ita versari ut et publicanis satisfacias, praesertim publicis male redemptis, et socios perire non sinas, divinae cujusdam virtutis esse videtur, id est, tuae. Ac primum Graecis id quod acerbissimum est quod sunt vectigales non ita acerbum videri debet, propterea quod sine imperio populi Romani suis institutis per se ipsi ita fuerunt. Nomen autem publicani aspernari non possunt, qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerunt, quod iis aequaliter Sulla discriperat. Non esse autem leniores in exigendis vectigalibus Graecos quam nostros publicanos hinc intelligi potest, quod Caunii nuper, omnesque ex insulis quae erant ab Sulla Rhodiis attribu-

The collection of the 'portoria,' like the collection of other dues, was let by the publicani, and sublet again. These sub-tenants are the *τελῶναι* of the Greek writers. There was a series of persons interested in filling their pockets, from the publicani down to the poorest farmer of the tolls of a petty bridge. The annoyance became so great, that the 'portoria' were abolished in Italy B.C. 60. (Ad Att. ii. 16.)

*Publicis male redemptis,*] "As they have made a bad bargain in the terms which they have agreed to give for the power of collecting the taxes." The publicani who farmed the taxes were said "*vectigalia redimere*," or "*conducere*." The taxes were let for five years by the censors at Rome, and taken by associations (*societates*), which were partnerships, or in the nature of joint-stock companies. Sometimes they gave too much for the taxes, either through greediness in over-bidding one another, or

through miscalculation. Cicero mentions a case (Ad Att. i. 15, 16, 17) in which the publicani of Asia came to complain to the senate, that through greediness they had given too much for the taxes; and they asked to have the agreement cancelled. Cicero helped them in the matter.

*Vectigales*] This means those who were subject to the payment of 'vectigal,' a word often used for taxes generally. Cicero intends to say, that the Asiani knew what taxation was before they became acquainted with the Romans, who however made them feel it sharper.

*Sulla*] When Sulla entered Asia, during the Mithridatic war (B.C. 84), he laid a contribution of 20,000 talents on Asia (Plutarch, Life of Lucullus, c. 4). The story is told more particularly in Plutarch's Life of Sulla (c. 24, 25). It appears (Lucullus, c. 20) that the money was raised by loan from the publicani, who, by charging interest, contrived to swell the debt

tae, confugerunt ad Senatum, nobis ut potius vectigal quam Rhodiis penderent. Quare nomen publicani neque ii debent horrere qui semper vectigales fuerunt; neque ii aspernari qui per se pendere vectigal non potuerunt; neque ii recusare qui postulaverunt. 34. Simul et illud Asia cogitet nullam a se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem abfuturam fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur. Id autem imperium quum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium.

XII. 35. Quod si genus ipsum et nomen publicani non iniquo animo sustinebunt, poterunt iis consilio et prudentia tua reliqua videri mitiora. Possunt in pactionibus faciendis

up to 120,000 talents. Lucullus allowed the publicani to take 40,000 talents, and no more; of which they complained most grievously. The sufferings of the people of Asia, under the grinding debt, with the publicani continually pressing them, are depicted in a lively manner by Plutarch. It seems from Cicero's instance of the Caunii, a people of Caria, that the Greeks squeezed their brethren even harder than a Roman did, if that was possible. The conclusion of the matter (34) is this, that Asia must not grumble at taxation, for which it got protection: as the Roman power (*id imperium*) could not be maintained without taxation, they must be content to purchase peace and security with part of their income (*fructus*).

12. *In pactionibus faciendis* 'Pactum,' 'pactio,' is the most general Roman term for any agreement. The '*lex censoria*' means the terms, the conditions, on which the censors let the taxes to farm; and these terms the publicani must

observe. Cicero, as usual, was wavering between his love of justice, and his desire to please the publicani. He here hints that the Asiani should not insist too strictly on the terms of the letting; they should rather settle with the publicani quietly, even if they are cheated a little. He says, "it is in their power, when they make their bargains with the publicani, not to look to the terms of the censor's letting, but rather to have regard to the convenience of settling the business, and the avoidance of trouble." This is the tenor of the passage to the end of this section (35): Do all you can to induce the Asiani, by all fair means, not to give the publicani much trouble about the taxes: the publicani, you must tell the people, are your and my good friends; we wish to oblige them: good people of Asia, we entreat you, pay quietly and quickly, don't look too sharp after your rights: I and my brother are much beholden to these gentlemen tax-



non legem spectare censoriam sed potius commoditatem conficiendi negotii et liberationem molestiae. Potes etiam tu id facere quod et fecisti egregie et facis, ut commemores quanta sit in publicanis dignitas, quantum nos illi ordini debeamus, ut remoto imperio ac vi potestatis et fascium publicanos cum Graecis gratia atque auctoritate conjungas. Sed et ab iis de quibus optime tu meritus es et qui tibi omnia debent hoc petas, ut facilitate sua nos eam necessitudinem quae est nobis cum publicanis obtinere et conservare patiantur. 36. Sed quid ego te haec hortor, quae tu non modo facere potes tua sponte sine cujusquam praeceptis, sed etiam magna jam ex parte perfecisti? Non enim desistunt nobis agere quotidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates, quod quidem mihi idcirco jucundius est, quod idem faciunt Graeci. Difficile est autem ea quae commodis, utilitate et prope natura diversa sunt, voluntate conjungere. At ea quidem, quae supra scripta sunt, non ut te instituerem scripsi, neque enim prudentia tua cujusquam praecepta desiderat, sed me in scribendo commemoratio tuae virtutis delectavit: quamquam in his litteris longior fui quam aut vellem aut quam me putavi fore.

XIII. 37. Unum est quod tibi ego praecipere non desinam, neque te patiar, quantum erit in me, cum exceptione laudari. Omnes enim qui istinc veniunt, ita de tua

collectors, and we would, if we could, keep on the best terms with them.

*Societates,*] These are the associations of publicani, men of the class of whom he has been speaking. It seems that Cicero had solved the difficult problem of pleasing both the tax-collectors and the tax-payers, the Graeci. In the next sentence he says, "however, it is difficult to unite in real

good will things which in their interests, advantages, and almost in their very nature, are diverse." As "diverse," says Manutius, as "fire and water, are the publicani and the socii." One set is all for receiving; the other all for not paying.

*Instituerem*] See De Sen. c. 14.

*Vellem*] See De Sen. c. 10.

13. *Qui istinc veniunt,*] See De Sen. 3. Cicero now goes on

virtute, integritate, humanitate commemorant, ut in tuis summis laudibus excipiant unam iracundiam. Quod vitium quum in hac privata quotidianaque vita levis esse animi atque infirmi videtur, tum vero nihil est tam deforme quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adjungere. Quare illud non suscipiam ut, quae de iracundia dici solent a doctissimis hominibus, ea nunc tibi exponam, quum et nimis longus esse nolim et ex multorum scriptis ea facile possis cognoscere: illud quod est epistolae proprium, ut is ad quem scribitur de iis rebus quas ignorat certior fiat, praetermittendum esse non puto. 38. Sic ad nos omnes fere deferunt, nihil quum absit iracundia te fieri posse jucundius; sed quum te alicujus improbitas perversitasque commoverit, sic te animo incitari ut ab omnibus tua desideretur humanitas. Quare quoniam in eam rationem vitae nos non tam cupiditas quaedam gloriae quam res ipsa ac fortuna deduxit, ut sempiternus sermo hominum de nobis futurus sit, caveamus, quantum efficere et consequi possumus, ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur. Neque ego nunc hoc contendo, quod fortasse quum in omni natura tum jam in nostra aetate difficile est, mutare animum, et si quid est penitus insitum moribus id subito evellere; sed te illud admoneo ut, si

to touch the weak part of his brother,—his hasty temper; and he does it with great tact. There is no reason to doubt the integrity of Quintus, who was, as it appears from what we know of him, as honest as a Roman at the time well could be. He was however a little, irritable fellow, with plenty of courage, and perhaps no great discretion.

*Ut—de iis rebus quas ignorat]* “Ignoret Ern. susp.” is Orelli’s note. But why is he so suspicious? We don’t write to a man to tell him what he may know or not

know, but what he does not know.

*Caveamus,—ut ne]* ‘Ut ne’ is more emphatic than ‘ne;’ most frequently used when something is interposed between ‘cave’ and ‘ne.’ The common form is this: “Quod ne accidat cavendum est.” De Am. 26. ‘Ne’ is sometimes omitted, as “cave Catoni anteponas,” De Am. 2; “cave dixeris,” “take care how you say it.” For other examples of ‘ut ne,’ when other words than ‘cave’ precede ‘ut ne,’ see De Am. 12, 16, 18.

*Te illud admoneo, ut,—ut te ante]* The ‘ut’ is repeated on

hoc plene vitare non potes, quod ante occupatur animus ab iracundia quam providere ratio potuit ne occuparetur, ut te ante compares quotidieque meditere resistendum esse iracundiae; quumque ea maxime animum moveat, tum tibi esse diligentissime linguam continendam, quae quidem mihi virtus non interdum minor videtur quam omnino non irasci. Nam illud est non solum gravitatis sed nonnumquam etiam lentitudinis: moderari vero et animo et orationi, quum sis iratus, aut etiam tacere et tenere in sua potestate motum animi et dolorem, etsi non est perfectae sapientiae, tamen est non mediocris ingenii. 39. Atque in hoc genere multo te esse jam commodiorem mitioremque nuntiant. Nullae tuae vehementiores animi concitationes, nulla maledicta ad nos, nullae contumeliae perferuntur; quae quum abhorrent a litteris, ab humanitate, tum vero contraria sunt imperio ac dignitati. Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sint, summa est acerbitas: sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas: quae tamen ut in malis acerbitati anteponenda est.

XIV. 40. Sed quoniam primus annus habuit de hac reprehensione plurimum sermonis, credo propterea quod tibi hominum injuriae, quod avaritiae, quod insolentia praeter opinionem accidebat et intolerabilis videbatur; secundus autem multo lenior, quod et consuetudo, et ratio,

account of the number of words which come between the first 'ut' and its verb 'compares.'

*Gravitatis—lentitudinis:*] "For to avoid falling into passion is the mark not only of a certain dignity of character, but sometimes also of a sluggish disposition." Some persons have no great merit in never getting into a passion, for their nature is too torpid to be roused. From what follows ('concitationes,' 'maledicta,' and so forth), we may infer that Quintus

had often been in terrible furies, and used abusive language, unbecoming an educated man, and unsuited to the authority and high station (*imperium, dignitas*) which he held. Perhaps Marcus rather gave him credit for more improvement than he deserved, in order to encourage him to go on.

*Si implacabiles—sint,—est*] No suspicion of Ernesti's is mentioned here, and yet it is a suspicious case. It should be 'sunt.'

et ut ego arbitror, meae quoque litterae te patientiorem lenioremque fecerunt: tertius annus ita debet esse emendatus, ut ne minimam quidem rem quisquam possit ullam reprehendere. 41. Ac jam hoc loco non hortatione neque praeceptis, sed precibus tecum fraternis ago, totum ut animum, curam, cogitationemque tuam ponas in omnium laude undique colligenda. Quod si in mediocri statu sermonis ac praedicationis nostrae res essent, nihil abs te eximium, nihil praeter aliorum consuetudinem postularetur. Nunc vero propter earum rerum in quibus versati sumus splendorem et magnitudinem, nisi summam laudem ex ista provincia assequimur, vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare. Ea nostra ratio est ut omnes boni quum faveant, tum etiam omnem a nobis diligentiam virtutemque et postulent et exspectent, omnes autem improbi quod cum iis bellum sempiternum suscepimus, vel minima re ad reprehendendum contenti esse videantur. 42. Quare quoniam ejusmodi theatrum est totius, celebritate refertissimum, magnitudine amplissimum, judicio eruditissimum, natura autem ita resonans ut usque Romam significationes vocesque referantur, contende, quaeso, atque elabora non modo ut his rebus dignus fuisse sed etiam ut illa omnia tuis artibus superasse videare.

XV. 43. Et quoniam mihi casus urbanam in magistratibus administrationem rei publicae, tibi provincialem

14. *Theatrum est totius,*] This is evidently corrupt. Orelli suggests that, if nothing has been lost, we ought perhaps to read 'es sortitus' in place of 'est totius.' The passage appears thus in some texts: "theatrum tuis virtutibus est datum." The meaning of the whole passage is this, the expression being founded on the notion of a theatre: "Wherefore, since you have such a theatre, with spectators most crowded, in dimensions most ample, in discrimination

most practised, in its nature too so resonant, that the applause and shouts are echoed even to Rome." 'Celebritas' has been already explained, c. 8.

*His rebus*] Appears to refer to 'significationes vocesque;' and 'illa omnia' to refer generally to 'his rebus,' and to every praise that Quintus had merited.

15. *Urbanam in magistratibus*] Cicero's activity in his praetorship and his consulship were confined to Rome.



dedit, si mea pars nemini cedit, fac ut tua ceteros vincat. Simul et illud cogita, nos non de reliqua et sperata gloria jam laborare, sed de parta dimicare; quae quidem non tam expetenda nobis fuit quam tuenda est. Ac si mihi quidquam esset abs te separatum, nihil amplius desiderarem hoc statu qui mihi jam partus est. Nunc vero sic res sese habet ut, nisi omnia tua facta atque dicta nostris rebus istinc respondeant, ego me tantis meis laboribus tantisque periculis, quorum tu omnium particeps fuisti, nihil consecutum putem. Quod si ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur unus praeter ceteros adjuvisti, certe idem ut id retineamus praeter ceteros elaborabis. Non est tibi his solis utendum existimationibus ac judiciis qui nunc sunt hominum, sed iis etiam qui futuri sunt: quamquam illorum erit verius iudicium obtreptione et malevolentia liberatum. 44. Denique illud etiam debes cogitare, non te tibi soli gloriam quaerere, quod si esset, tamen non negligeres, praesertim quum amplissimis monumentis con-

*Ut amplissimum nomen*] He appears to allude to the exertions of Quintus, when he was a candidate for the consulship. Quintus addressed to his brother a small treatise, still extant, entitled "*De Petitione Consulatus*," which is a word of advice to a candidate for the honour.

*Quamquam illorum*] This is a good example of '*illorum*,' as referring to what is in mental contemplation remote, the opinion "*eorum qui futuri sunt*." Manutius does not see what '*quamquam*' here adds to the expression. He would prefer '*quoniam*' or '*namque*.' But all depends on the translation of '*quamquam*,' one of the duplicated adverbs, or conjunctions, or whatever they are called. The notion contained in this duplication is of a generalizing

nature; and '*quamquam*' means '*however it may be*,' '*take it as you will*,' and '*the judgment of posterity will be the truer judgment, being disentangled from all deduction and ill-will*.'

*Amplissimis monumentis—voluisses*] This alludes perhaps to an historical work on which Quintus employed himself. See *Ad Att. ii. 16*. This passage is curious. After telling Atticus that he had received a letter from Quintus, he adds: "*My brother laments his residence in Asia in the first part of his letter in such terms as would move any one; then again he recovers himself so far as to ask me to correct and publish his annals*." The word '*monumentum*,' or '*monimentum*,' from '*moneo*,' means any record or memorial.

secrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui; sed ea tibi est communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis nostris. In quo cavendum est ne, si negligentior fueris, non solum tibi parum consuluisse sed etiam tuis invidisse videaris.

XVI. 45. Atque haec non eo dicuntur ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur. Facies enim perpetuo quae fecisti, ut omnes aequitatem tuam, temperantiam, severitatem, integritatemque laudent. Sed me quaedam tenet propter singularem amorem infinita in te aviditas gloriae: quamquam illud existimo, quum jam tibi Asia sicut uni cuique sua domus nota esse debeat, quum ad tuam summam prudentiam tantus usus accesserit, nihil esse quod ad laudem attineat quod non tu optime perspicias et tibi non sine cujusquam hortatione in mentem veniat quotidie. Sed ego qui, quum tua lego, te audire, et qui, quum ad te scribo, tecum loqui videor, idcirco et tua longissima quaque epistola maxime delector et ipse in scribendo sum saepe longior. 46. Illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor ut, tamquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusione muneris ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperii tui, tamquam tertius actus, perfectissimus atque ornatissimus fuisse videatur. Id facillime facies, si me, cui semper uni magis quam universis placere voluisti, tecum semper esse putabis, et omnibus iis rebus quas dices ac facies interesse. Reliquum est ut te orem ut valetudini tuae, si me et tuos omnes valere vis, diligentissime servias. Vale.

16. *Tamquam tertius actus,*] The comparison of life to a play occurs in the Cato Major (c. 23). Here the government of Quintus is compared to a play; he has already been by implication compared to an actor who has a wide stage and a full audience. This last year is now compared to the

last act of a play. Would it be believed that some critics would like to read "extremus" or "ultimus actus," in place of 'tertius,' because a Roman play, forsooth, has five acts? The drama of the administration of Quintus had three acts, and the third was the last.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

## EPISTOLARUM LIBRI DUO.

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SELECTIONS from Cicero's letters might be made for various purposes. The purpose of the following selection is solely for the teaching of the Latin language; and probably any other sixty letters might be selected which would answer the same end. I should have made the selection larger if the limits of this little book allowed; but if this selection should be well received, and be found useful for young students, I shall be glad of the opportunity of printing it separately, enlarged and improved.

I was not able to get a copy of the original selection of J. Sturmius, which Ascham recommends as an elementary book for Latin scholars; but I have got a reprint of the book (Leipzig, 1741), which, besides the three books of the selection of Sturmius, contains a fourth book of selections by Jonas Bittner, the whole revised by C. Daum; or rather not revised, for it is one of the most incorrect works that ever I saw. The selection of Sturmius is very judiciously made. The first book contains fifty-seven letters, most of them short; and very few present any difficulty which a tutor cannot explain with little trouble. I have placed in this first book of selections the greater part of those selected by Sturmius for his first book, to which I have added a few others of the same kind. It would not be difficult to pick out about one hundred short letters of this description, which, if well studied, would give a boy a very competent knowledge of the construction of easy Latin sentences. The letters in the second book I have taken partly from the second and third books of Sturmius,

and partly I have selected them myself, being guided in the choice by the judgment that Sturmius has shown. I wish that I could have added a few more. This second book of letters is perhaps not more difficult than the first, except so far as greater length may cause some trouble to beginners; but many of them are of a different kind from the brief familiar letters of the first book.

The only difficulties in these letters arise either from particular words or from the general matter of them. I have briefly explained a few of those terms which puzzle a learner, or even a teacher who has not turned his attention particularly to the letters of Cicero and to the technical terms which frequently occur in them. As to the matter, I have done enough to show what the letters are about, when such information was necessary; and by putting those to the same person together, I have somewhat diminished a difficulty which is inherent in all epistolary correspondence. Though the letters were selected solely for the language, I have chosen such as help to explain one another; and a reader will find that, when he has got through a few, he will have less trouble with the rest. I have taken many of those to Tiro; and indeed the whole book of letters to Tiro might have been well placed here. They are of the familiar affectionate kind, turn upon a few matters, of which Tiro's poor health is one; and they show the amiable side of the family of the Ciceros in their attachment to a faithful servant. Setting aside the difficulty of the matter, which in these letters is not great, there is no Latin author read in schools, either good or bad, whose language is easier for a boy than the language of these letters.

I have given the dates A. U. C. of the letters as they are given in Orelli's edition; but a few of the dates are not certain. I have used the notes of P. Manutius and those in the Variorum edition.



M. TULLII CICERONIS

## EPISTOLARUM LIBRI DUO.

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### LIB. I.

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#### 1. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(XIV. 21. A. U. C. 704.)

S. V. B. E. V. Da operam ut convalescas. Quod opus erit, ut res tempusque postulat, provideas atque administres; et ad me de omnibus rebus quam saepissime literas mittas. Vale.

#### 2. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S.

(XIV. 8. A. U. C. 704.)

S. V. B. E. E. V. Valetudinem tuam velim cures diligentissime. Nam mihi et scriptum et nuntiatum est te in febrim subito incidisse. Quod celeriter me fecisti de Caesaris literis certiolem, fecisti mihi gratum. Item posthac, si

The following letters to Terentia are addressed by Cicero to his wife.

1. S. V. B. E. V.] The Romans used many abbreviations in writing. These letters signify: 'si vales, bene est, valeo.'

2. *Quod—me fecisti*] The neuter

relative is often placed thus, to introduce a matter of which something is going to be said. There is another example at the beginning of the third letter.

*Caesaris*] C. Julius Caesar is meant.

quid opus erit, si quid acciderit novi, facies ut sciam. Cura ut valeas. Vale. D. iiii. Nonas Jun.

### 3. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(xiv. 12. A. U. C. 706.)

Quod nos in Italiam salvos venisse gaudes, perpetuo gaudeas velim. Sed perturbati dolore animi magnisque injuriis metuo ne id consilii ceperimus quod non facile explicare possimus. Quare quantum potes adjuva. Quid autem possis mihi in mentem non venit. In viam quod te des hoc tempore nihil est: et longum est iter et non tutum: et non video quid prodesse possis si veneris. Vale. D. prid. Nonas. Novemb. Brundisio.

### 4. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

(xiv. 11. A. U. C. 707.)

s. v. B. E. v. Tullia nostra venit ad me pridie Idus Junias, cujus summa virtute et singulari humanitate graviore etiam sum dolore affectus nostra factum esse negligentia ut longe alia in fortuna esset atque ejus pietas ac

*D.]* The abbreviation of 'datum,' or of 'datae,' that is, 'literae,' which signifies the time and place at which a letter was given to the letter-carrier, 'tabellarius;' whence the Italian expression 'la data,' and the English 'date' and 'dated.' Cicero says, *Ad Q. Fr. ii. 16*, "accepi tuas literas datas Placentiae;" and *Ad Att. xi. 17*, "properantibus tabellariis alienis hanc epistolam dedi."

3. This letter was written upon Cicero's return to Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 43; and he expresses his fears that he has not taken a prudent step, that there will be no good result. He

says, *Ad Att. xiv. 1*, "explicari rem non posse."

*Brundisio.]* There is a reading *Brundisii*: but the ablative form is often used in such cases.

4. *Tullia]* His daughter Tullia had come to see him after his return: and he thinks of sending his son Cicero to Caesar, to make his peace with the conqueror. (*Ad Att. xi. 17*.)

*Alia—atque]* "In a different condition from that which," &c., as we say. 'Atque' is thus used also with 'aeque.' The construction is easily explained by supplying the proper form of 'alia' in the latter member of the sentence.

dignitas postulabat. Nobis erat in animo Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere, et cum eo Cn. Salustium. Si profectus erit, faciam te certiozem. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. xvii. Kalendas Quintil.

## 5. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE.

(xiv. 15. A. U. C. 707.)

Si vales, bene est. Constitueramus, ut ad te antea scrips-  
seram, obviam Ciceronem Caesari mittere; sed mutavimus  
consilium, quia de illius adventu nihil audiebamus. De  
ceteris rebus, etsi nihil erat novi, tamen quid velimus et  
quid hoc tempore putemus opus esse ex Sicca poteris cog-  
noscere. Tulliam adhuc mecum teneo. Valetudinem tuam  
cura diligenter. Vale. xii. Kalendas Quintil.

## 6. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(xiv. 19. A. U. C. 706.)

In maximis meis doloribus excruciat me valetudo Tulliae  
nostrae. De qua nihil est quod ad te plura scribam; tibi  
enim aequae magnae curae esse certo scio. Quod me pro-  
pius vultis accedere, video ita esse faciendum. Etiam ante  
fecissem, sed me multa impederunt quae ne nunc quidem  
expedita sunt. Sed a Pomponio exspecto literas quas ad  
me quam primum perferendas cures velim. Da operam  
ut valeas.

*Quintil.*] It must be recol-  
lected that this was written before  
the name of the month Quintilis  
was changed to Julius.

5. *Adventu*] Caesar was now in  
Asia, whither he had gone from  
Egypt.

*Sicca*] A friend of Cicero, who

lived at Vibo, in the Bruttii.

6. *Quod—propius*] This letter  
was written from Brundisium, be-  
fore Tullia came. He speaks of  
coming nearer to Rome, as Atticus  
(who is Pomponius) advised him.  
Ad Att. xi. 6, 1.

## 7. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(XIV. 24. A. U. C. 707.)

s. v. b. e. v. Nos neque de Caesaris adventu neque de literis, quas Philotimus habere dicitur, quidquam adhuc certi habemus. Si quid erit certi, faciam te statim certiorum. Valetudinem tuam fac ut cures. Vale. III. Idus Sextiles.

## 8. TULLIUS TERENTIAE SUAE S. D.

(XIV. 23. A. U. C. 707.)

s. v. b. e. v. Redditae mihi tandem sunt a<sup>1</sup> Caesare literae satis liberales; et ipse opinione celerius venturus esse dicitur. Cui utrum obviam procedam an hic eum exspectem, quum constituero, faciam te certiorum. Tabellarios mihi velim quam primum remittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. D. pridie Idus Sext.

## 9. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

(XIV. 22. A. U. C. 707.)

s. v. b. e. v. Nos quotidie tabellarios nostros exspectamus, qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores quid nobis faciendum sit, faciemusque te statim certiorum. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Kalendis Septembribus.

7. *Philotimus*] Cicero had heard that Philotimus had reached Rhodes with a letter from Caesar for him. Ad Att. xi. 23.

8. *Redditae mihi*, &c.] "A letter from Caesar has been delivered to me;" 'dare literas,' as already explained, is equivalent to 'sending a letter.' 'Reddere literas,'

is the corresponding expression; 'to deliver a letter.'

*Satis liberales*;) "In terms generous enough;" as one might expect from such a man. Cicero saw Caesar shortly after at Brundisium, and was well received by him. He then moved on to Rome, as the next letter shows.



## 10. TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE.

(xiv. 20. A. U. C. 707.)

In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut post-ridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt et ut arbitror diutius ibi commorabimur. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit ; item cetera quae sunt ad victum et valetudinem necessaria. Vale. Kal. Octobr. de Venusino.

## 11. TULLIUS TIRONI S.

(xvi. 10. A. U. C. 700.)

Ego vero cupio te ad me venire ; sed viam timeo. Gra-

10. *In Tusculanum*] He announces to his wife that he is coming to his villa at Tusculum, on the Alban hills, near Frascati, near Rome ; and she is to get every thing ready for him. He was dissatisfied with his wife's management of his affairs, during his absence, and was out of humour with her. The letter is hardly civil. The next year, B.C. 46, he divorced her.

*Ut sint omnia parata.*] In the familiar epistolary style, and also in conversation, words were often omitted : ' fac ut sint ' would be the complete expression.

*De Venusino.*] ' Agro.' He wrote the letter in the neighbourhood of Venusia (Venosa), the birth-place of Horace, and on his way to Tusculum.

11. This and the following letters are addressed by Cicero to Tiro, who was first his slave, and afterwards was manumitted by him. Tiro was chiefly instructed by Cicero ; and his aptness for learn-

ing and amiable disposition endeared him to his master, whose attachment is shown by these letters. Tiro was Cicero's literary assistant, and was himself a writer on grammar. After Cicero's death he wrote his life in four books, a work which is mentioned by Plutarch (Life of Cicero, c. 41, 49) and others. He superintended an edition of Cicero's orations, after the orator's death ; but there is no authority for attributing to him the collection of Cicero's letters, which we now have. He possessed, however, some letters, as we learn from Cicero himself (Ad Att. xvi. 5) ; and it was Cicero's intention to have them and others published ; but whether Tiro published either these letters of which Cicero speaks, or any other, can neither be affirmed nor denied, for want of evidence. Tiro's health was poor, as we see from this and other letters.

*Ego vero cupio*] " Indeed. I do wish you to come." This form

vissime aegrotasti: inedia et purgationibus et vi ipsius morbi consumptus es. Graves solent offensiones esse ex gravibus morbis, si quae culpa commissa est. Jam ad id biduum, quod fueris in via dum in Cumanum venis, accedent continuo ad reditum dies quinque. Ego in Formiano a. d. III. Kalend. esse volo. Ibi te ut firmum offendam, mi Tiro, effice. Literulae meae sive nostrae tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hac tamen epistola quam Acastus attulit oculos paullum sustulerunt. Pompeius erat apud me quum haec scribebam, hilare et lubenter. Ei cupienti audire nostra dixi sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Musis nostris para ut operas reddas. Nostra ad diem dictam fient. Docui enim te fides *ἔτυμον* quod haberet. Fac plane ut valeas. Nos adsumus. Vale. XIV. Kal.

of expression is used in answer to a letter. See Ad Div. iv. 6, "Ego vero, Servi, vellem," &c.

*In Cumanum*] Cicero appears to write from his villa at Cumae, on the Campanian coast, from which he was intending to move northwards, to his villa at Formiae, near the present Gaeta. It does not appear where Tiro was; but he was to be ready to see Cicero at the Formianum.

*Esse volo.*] This means, 'I design,' 'I intend.'

*Erat—quum haec scribebam,*] This may be called an epistolary tense. In English we can say either, "Pompeius is with me while I am writing this;" or we can say after Cicero's fashion, with reference to the time when the letter will be read, "Pompeius was with me when I was writing this." As to the epistolary tenses,

see Key's Grammar, 1160, &c.; and a good example of them in the beginning of a letter to Atticus (ix. 1).

*Muta esse.*] He means that his studies were interrupted by Tiro's absence; and he tells him that he must prepare to resume his literary labours with him.

*Nostra ad diem, &c.*] "My part shall be done at the time fixed." He alludes to his promise to manumit Tiro; and in the next sentence he alludes to his notion of the *ἔτυμον* or etymology of 'fides,' as being derived from the verb 'fio.'

*Nos adsumus.*] There is no sense in the reading 'nos ad sumum.' The conclusion of the letter seems to mean: "see that you get quite strong; I shall soon be with you."

## 12. Q. M. FRATRI S.

(xvi. 16. A. U. C. 700.)

De Tirone, mi Marce, ita te meumque Ciceronem et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium videam, ut mihi gratissimum fecisti, quum eum, indignum illa fortuna, nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi crede, tuis et illius literis perlectis exsilii gaudio, et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. Si enim mihi Statii fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona debent, additis literis, sermonibus, humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora? Amo te omnibus equidem maximis de causis, verum etiam propter hanc vel quod mihi sic ut debuisti nuntiasti. Te totum in literis vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia, et faciam.

## 13. TULLIUS TIRONI SUO S.

(xvi. 2. A. U. C. 704.)

Non queo ad te nec lubet scribere quo animo sim affectus: tantum scribo et tibi et mihi maximae voluptati fore, si te firmum quam primum videro. Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus. Is locus est citra Leucadem stadia cxx. Leucade aut te ipsum aut tuas literas a

12. This letter (of uncertain date, like the preceding) from Quintus Cicero to his brother Marcus, thanks him for manumitting Tiro. It seems probable that Quintus was at this time with Caesar in Gaul.

*Ita te, &c., ut*] A Roman form of expression, which corresponds to our form: "as I hope to see you and my son Cicero, and my dear little Tullia and your son, I assure you that you have pleased me most particularly," &c.

13. Tiro accompanied Cicero to

his government of Cilicia, B.C. 51, and returned with him B.C. 50. Tiro was left sick at Patrae (Patras) in Achaia, under the care of two of Cicero's friends, M'. Curius and Lyso.

*Alyzia*] He fixes the position of Alyzia as being 120 stadia, or fifteen Roman miles, 'on this side of Leucas' (Santa Maura), that is between Leucas and Patrae. Cicero means the city of Leucas in the north part of the island. Alyzia is on the mainland opposite to the island.

Marione putabam me accepturum. Quantum me diligis, tantum fac ut valeas, vel quantum a me scis diligi. Nonis Novemb. Alyzia.

14. TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S. D. ET  
Q. PATER ET FILIUS.

(XVI. 3. A. U. C. 704.)

Nos apud Alyziam, ex quo loco tibi literas ante dederamus, unum diem commorati sumus, quod Quintus nos consecutus non erat. Is dies fuit Non. Novembr. Inde ante lucem proficiscentes ante diem VIII. Idus Novembr. has literas dedimus. Tu, si nos omnes amas et praecipue me magistrum tuum, confirma te. Ego valde suspensio animo exspecto, primum te scilicet, deinde Marionem cum tuis literis. Omnes cupimus, ego in primis, quam primum te videre, sed, mi Tiro, valentem. Quare nihil properaris; satis quotidie videro, si valebis. Utilitatibus tuis possum carere; te valere tua causa primum volo, tum mea, mi Tiro. Vale.

*Marione*] Mario was one of Cicero's slaves. "At Leucas I expect either to see you or to receive a letter from you by Mario."

14. *Dederamus*,] As the epistolary imperfect is used where we might use the present in English, so the epistolary pluperfect is used in place of the perfect.

*Ante diem VIII. Idus Novembr.*] "On the eighth (octavum) day before the Ides of November." This Roman expression is often written in the abbreviated form, "A.D. VIII. Idus Novembr." where A. D. must not be confounded with 'ad.' The expression "ante diem octavum Idus Novembres" seems awkward. Perhaps it may be explained thus. The 'ante' goes with 'Idus,' and the meaning is

'before the Ides of November,' and the words 'the eighth day' are interposed to fix the time. Being so placed, it is not so strange that "octavum diem" are put in the accusative. As to this form, see the article 'Calendar,' by Professor Key, in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

*Magistrum tuum*,] 'Magister' must not be confounded with 'dominus,' which means 'owner.' Cicero was once the 'dominus' of Tiro; now he was his 'patronus,' and Tiro his 'libertus.' Cicero calls himself the 'magister,' or instructor of Tiro. Probably he had brought him up from a boy in his house, and, finding him apt, gave him a liberal education.



15. TULLIUS, ET CICERO, ET Q. Q. TIRONI  
HUMANISSIMO ET OPTIMO S. P. D.

(xvi. 5. A. U. C. 704.)

Vide quanta sit in te suavitas. Duas horas Thyrei fuimus. Xenomenes hospes tam te diligit quam si vixerit tecum. Is omnia pollicitus est quae tibi essent opus. Facturum puto. Mihi placebat, si firmior esses, ut te Leucadem deportaret, ut ibi te plane confirmares. Videbis quid Curio, quid Lysoni, quid medico placeat. Volebam ad te Marionem remittere, quem, quum meliuscule tibi esset, ad me mitteres: sed cogitavi unas literas Marionem afferre posse, me autem crebras exspectare. Poteris igitur, et facies, si me diligis, ut quotidie sit Acastus in portu. Multi erunt quibus recte literas dare possis, qui ad me libenter perferant. Equidem Patras euntem neminem praetermittam. Ego omnem spem tui diligenter curandi in Curio habeo. Nihil potest illo fieri humanius, nihil nostri amantius. Ei te totum trade. Malo te paullo post valentem quam statim imbecillum videre. Cura igitur nihil aliud nisi ut [tu] valeas: cetera ego curabo. Etiam atque etiam vale. Leucade proficiscens vii. Idus Novembr.

16. TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. Q. TIRONI  
SAL. PLUR. D.

(xvi. 6. A. U. C. 704.)

Tertiam ad te hanc epistolam scripsi eodem die, magis

15. *Vide*] "See how dear you are to me:" that is, as he shows by his frequent letters.

*Thyrei*] Thyreum or Thyrium, a town on the mainland of Acarnania, not rightly placed in the maps with respect to Leucas, if we may conclude from this letter.

*Meliuscule tibi esset,*] "When you are a little better." 'Bene,' 'male,' are thus used with a dative. "Bene solis esse maritis." (Horat. i. Ep. i. 89.)

16. *Tertiam*] Letter (xvi. 4) not printed here, is dated from Leucas vii. Id. Nov. Letter (xvi. 5) is

instituti mei tenendi causa quia nactus eram cui darem quam quo haberem quid scriberem. Igitur illa : quantum me diligis, tantum adhibe in te diligentiae. Ad tua innumerabilia in me officia adde hoc quod mihi erit gratissimum omnium. Quum valetudinis rationem, ut spero, habueris, habeto etiam navigationis. In Italiam euntibus omnibus ad me literas dabis, ut ego euntem Patras neminem praetermitto. Cura, cura te, mi Tiro : quoniam non contigit ut simul navigares, nihil est quod festines ; nec quidquam cures nisi ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam vale. VII. Idus Novembr. Actio, vesperi.

# 17. TULLIUS ET CICERO S. D. TIRONI SUO.

(XVI. 7. A. U. C. 704.)

Septimum jam diem Corcyrae tenebamur. Quintus autem pater et filius Buthroti. Solliciti eramus de tua valetudine mirum in modum, nec mirabamur nihil a te literarum. Iis enim ventis istinc navigatur qui si essent, nos Corcyrae non sederemus. Cura igitur te et confirma : et quum commode et per valetudinem et per anni tempus navigare poteris, ad nos amantissimos tui veni. Nemo nos amat qui te non diligat. Carus omnibus expectatusque venies.

dated from the same place, and on the same day ; and this (xvi. 6) is the third.

*Quo haberem quod scriberem.*] "Than that I have any thing to say." This 'quo' is the same as 'quod,' in "non quod haberem," which might be the form of expression if the words from 'magis instituti' to 'quam' were omitted ; and it might be translated, "not as having ;" "not that I have."

*Igitur illa :*] This epistolary brevity is common in Cicero's familiar letters. He had nothing

new to say, and therefore he could only say what he had said before. See the end of xvi. 2.

17. *Septimum jam*] "This is now the seventh day that we are detained at Corcyra (Corfu)." Quintus and his son had got to Buthrotum (Butrinto) on the mainland.

*Iis enim, &c.*] "For if that wind had been blowing which brings a vessel from Patrae where you are (istinc), we should not have been waiting at Corcyra."

*Per valetudinem*] "When both your health and the season of the

Cura ut valeas etiam atque etiam, Tiro noster. Vale.  
xv. Kalend. Decembr. Corcyra.

## 18. CICERO F. TIRONI SUO S.

(xvi. 25. A. U. C. 710.)

Etsi justa et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis literarum tuarum, tamen id ne saepius facias rogo. Nam etsi de re publica rumoribus et nuntiis certior fio, et de sua in me voluntate semper ad me perscribit pater, tamen de quavis minima re scripta a te ad me epistola semper fuit gratissima. Quare quum in primis tuas desiderem literas, noli committere ut excusatione potius expleas officium scribendi quam assiduitate epistolarum. Vale.

## 19. CICERO SERVIO S.

(xiii. 20. A. U. C. 708.)

Asclapone Patrensi medico utor familiariter, ejusque quum consuetudo mihi jucunda fuit, tum ars etiam, quam sum expertus in valetudine meorum. In qua mihi quum ipsa scientia, tum etiam fidelitate benevolentiaque satisfecit. Hunc igitur tibi commendo, et a te peto ut des operam ut intelligat diligenter me scripsisse de sese, meamque commendationem usui magno sibi fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

year shall permit." See Key's Grammar on this use of 'per,' 1350.

18. A letter from Marcus Cicero the son, then a student at Athens, to Tiro.

*Noli committere*] The use of 'noli' is learned by such examples as this. It is not the same as 'ne committas,' but as much as to say "I pray that you will not;" "I urge you not." Comp. De Senect.

c. 22. 'Nolite arbitrari.'

19. A letter addressed to Servius Sulpicius, one of the most illustrious of the Romans, a jurist, an orator, and a statesman. He was made proconsul of Achaia by C. Julius Caesar, and during his residence in Achaia Cicero sent him this letter of recommendation. Asclapo was the physician of Tiro at Patrae (Ad Div. xvi. 9).

## 20. CICERO SERVIO S.

(XIII. 25. A. U. C. 708.)

Hegesaratus Larissaeus magnis meis beneficiis ornatus in consulatu meo memor et gratus fuit, meque postea diligentissime coluit. Eum tibi magno opere commendo ut et hospitem meum et familiarem et gratum hominem et virum bonum et principem civitatis suae et tua necessitudine dignissimum. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam ut is intelligat hanc meam commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

## 21. CICERO MEMMIO S.

(XIII. 3. A. U. C. 704.)

A. Fufium unum ex meis intimis, observantissimum studiosissimumque nostri, eruditum hominem et summa humanitate, tuaque amicitia dignissimum, velim ita tractes ut mihi coram recepisti. Tam gratum mihi id erit quam quod gratissimum. Ipsum praeterea summo officio et summa observantia tibi in perpetuum devinxeris.

## 22. CICERO CORNIFICIO.

(XII. 21. A. U. C. 710.)

C. Anicius, familiaris meus, vir omnibus rebus ornatus, negotiorum suorum causa legatus est in Africam legatione

21. A letter to C. Memmius, who was at this time living in exile at Mytilene. This is the Memmius to whom Lucretius dedicated his poem.

22. A letter to Q. Cornificius, who was at this time in the Roman province of Africa, which he held for the Senate after the death of Caesar.

*Negotiorum*] Anicius had gone to Africa to look after his money af-

fairs, and he had obtained what was called a "legatio libera," a kind of nominal commission given by the Senate to those of their own body who went out of Italy, in order that they might be treated with more consideration and respect. The provincials were also required to furnish him who had a "legatio libera" with certain things while he was on the road, lodgings, fodder for cattle, and the like.



libera. Eum velim rebus omnibus adjuves, operamque des ut quam commodissime sua negotia conficiat; in primisque, quod ei carissimum est, dignitatem ejus tibi commendo: idque a te peto quod ipse in provincia facere sum solitus non rogatus, ut omnibus Senatoribus lictores darem; quod idem acceperam et id cognoveram a summis viris factitatum. Hoc igitur, mi Cornifici, facies: ceterisque rebus omnibus ejus dignitati reiue, si me amas, consules. Erit id mihi gratissimum. Da operam ut valeas.

### 23. CICERO CORNIFICIO S.

(XII. 27. A. U. C. 710.)

Sex. Aufidius et observantia qua me colit accedit ad proximos, et splendore equiti Romano nemini cedit. Est autem ita temperatis moderatisque moribus ut summa severitas summa cum humanitate jungatur. Cujus tibi negotia quae sunt in Africa ita commendo ut majore studio magisve ex animo commendare non possim. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam ut is intelligat meas apud te literas maximum pondus habuisse. Hoc te vehementer, mi Cornifici, rogo.

### 24. CICERO S. D. CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE.

(XII. 17. A. U. C. 709.)

Grata mihi vehementer est memoria nostri tua quam

23. *Severitas—humanitate, &c.*] “Further (autem) he is a man whose character is so tempered and governed as to combine the greatest gravity with the greatest suavity.” I do not offer this as the best translation that can be made of ‘temperatis,’ ‘moderatis,’ ‘severitas,’ ‘humanitas;’ but merely to suggest that great care

should be taken in the rendering of terms of this kind, the proper understanding of which is one of the greatest difficulties of the Latin language.

24. *Collegae.*] Cornificius and Cicero were members of the college of Augurs. Cornificius was governor of Syria in B.C. 45. It is difficult to determine from this

significasti literis; quam ut conserves, non quo de tua constantia dubitem sed quia mos est ita rogandi, rogo. Ex Syria nobis tumultuosiora quaedam nuntiata sunt; quae, quia tibi sunt propiora quam nobis, tua me causa magis movent quam mea. Romae summum otium est, sed ita ut malis salubre aliquod et honestum negotium: quod spero fore. Video id curae esse Caesari. Me scito, dum tu absis, quasi occasionem quandam et licentiam nactum scribere audacius; et cetera quidem fortasse quae etiam tu concederes: sed proxime scripsi de optimo genere dicendi, in quo saepe suspicatus sum te a iudicio nostro, sic scilicet ut doctum hominem ab non indocto, paullulum dissidere. Huic tu libro maxime velim ex animo, si minus, gratiae causa suffragere. Dicam tuis ut eum, si velint, describant ad teque mittant. Puto enim, etiamsi rem minus probabis, tamen in ista solitudine quidquid a me profectum sit jucundum tibi fore. Quod mihi existimationem tuam dignitatemque commendas, facis tu quidem omnium more; sed velim sic existimes, me quum amori quem inter nos mutuum esse intelligam plurimum tribuam,

letter whether it was addressed to him in Syria or in Africa. "Tibi sunt propiora" is quite consistent with Cornificius being in Africa; to which the words "ista solitudine" are more applicable than to Syria.

*Otium—negotium:*] Cicero is playing on these words. There was complete quiet at Rome under Caesar's rule; but Cicero says that a man would rather see something doing, if it were for the good of the state, and for its credit. He hopes that something will be done in that way, and Caesar, he says, is thinking of it.

*De optimo, &c.*] This is the extant treatise *De Oratore*, in three books.

*Describant*] The 'tuis' may be some of the slaves or freedmen of Cornificius; though the expression 'si velint' may seem to make 'tuis' mean the friends of Cornificius at Rome. However, Cicero says that he will tell them, whoever they may be, to make a copy of the work and send it to Cornificius, for it might give him some amusement in the solitude of his province. This copying of books in Cicero's time gave employment to a good many persons, principally slaves. How well and how quickly a book may be copied, may be seen from the way in which legal pleadings and instruments are now copied by law stationers.

tum de summo ingenio et de studiis tuis optimis et de spe amplissimae dignitatis ita judicare ut neminem tibi antepo-  
nam, comparem paucos.

25. D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DESIGN. S. D.  
CICERONI.

(XI. 4. A. U. C. 710.)

Si de tua in me voluntate dubitarem, multis a te verbis peterem ut dignitatem meam tuerere. Sed profecto est ita, ut mihi persuasi, me tibi esse curae. Progressus sum ad Inalpinos cum exercitu, non tam nomen imperatorium captans quam cupiens militibus satisfacere, firmosque eos ad tuendas nostras res efficere. Quod mihi videor consecutus; nam et liberalitatem nostram et animum sunt experti. Cum omnium bellicosissimis bellum gessi; multa castella cepi; multa vastavi. Non sine causa ad Senatum literas misi. Adjuva nos tua sententia, quod quum facies, ex magna parte communi commodo inservieris.

26. M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DES. S. D.

(XI. 15. A. U. C. 711.)

Etsi mihi tuae literae jucundissimae sunt, tamen jucundius fuit, quod in summa occupatione tua Planco collegae mandasti ut te mihi per literas excusaret; quod fecit ille

25. A letter from Decimus Brutus one of the assassins of Caesar, written (B.C. 44) from Cisalpine Gaul, which province he held after Caesar's death.

*Ad Senatum literas*] This is an expression used to signify a general or commander sending to the senate an official account of his victories or other success.

*Adjuva nos*] It appears that he wanted the honour of a 'supplicatio,' a kind of religious thanksgiving for his success, such as we

find mentioned in Caesar (Bell. Gall. ii. 35): "ob easque res ex literis Caesaris dies xv. supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli."

26. *Planco*] L. Munatius Plancus, who was now governor of Transalpine Gaul, soon deserted his colleague, as Cicero calls him, and joined M. Antonius.

*Mandasti*] "You gave instructions," or "you commissioned." 'Mando' is not a word of command, though a 'mandatum' may

diligenter. Mihi autem nihil amabilius officio tuo et diligentia. Conjunctio tua cum collega, concordiaque vestra quae literis communibus declarata est, S. P. Q. R. gratissima accidit. Quod superest, perge, mi Brute, et jam non cum aliis sed tecum ipse certa. Plura scribere non debeo, praesertim ad te quo magistro brevitatis uti cogito. Literas tuas vehementer exspecto, et quidem tales quales maxime opto.

## 27. M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO.

(XI. 25. A. U. C. 711.)

Exspectanti mihi tuas quotidie literas Lupus noster subito denuntiavit ut ad te scriberem, si quid vellem. Ego autem, etsi quid scriberem non habebam, acta enim ad te mitti sciebam, inanem autem sermonem literarum tibi injucundum esse audiebam, brevitatem secutus sum te magistro. Scito igitur in te et in collega spem omnem esse. De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi: quem ego, quemadmodum

come from one who commands. It signifies engaging some one to do something for us; hence the law of 'mandatum' (Dig. 17, tit. 1) corresponds partly not entirely to our law of agency. A letter to Marius (VII. 2) begins thus: "mandatum tuum curabo diligenter."

*S. P. Q. R.*] The common abbreviation for *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, the official designation of the Roman *Res Publica*, or Commonwealth.

27. *Denuntiavit*] Here signifies, "gave me notice to write, if I had any thing to say," for this was an opportunity.

*Acta*] These 'acta,' sometimes simply called 'acta,' sometimes with the addition of the words 'diurna,' 'publica,' and other

names, were a kind of gazette. They contained the news of the day, briefly expressed without any remarks. They were published by transcription, and often copied and sent into the provinces. See a good article on the 'Acta,' in Smith's Greek and Roman Antiq., by the editor of that work.

*Brevitatem—te magistro.*] He again alludes to the epistolary brevity of Brutus, whom he calls his 'magister,' or teacher in this matter.

*De Bruto*] M. Junius Brutus, who was now raising a force in the east, while Cassius was doing the same. Cicero wrote this letter in June: in the beginning of the December following he was murdered in the proscription of the Triumviri. Brutus and Cassius in



praecipis, privatis literis ad bellum commune vocare non desino. Qui utinam jam adesset: intestinum Urbis malum, quod est non mediocre, minus timeremus. Sed quid ago? non imitor Λακωνισμόν tuum: altera jam pagella procedit. Vince et vale. XIV. Kal. Quintiles.

## 28. M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

(VII. 4. A. U. C. 708.)

A. d. IX. Kal. in Cumanum veni cum Libone tuo, vel nostro potius. In Pompeianum statim cogito; sed faciam ante te certiozem. Te quum semper valere cupio, tum certe dum hic sumus. Vides enim quanto post una futuri sumus. Quare si quod constitutum cum podagra habes,

the following year (B.C. 42) were defeated at Philippi.

*Altera—pagella*] 'Pagella,' a diminutive from 'pagina,' of which the regular form would be 'pagina.' The diminutives in 'ellus,' 'ella,' are numerous, as 'asellus,' 'puella.'

The page on which Cicero wrote this letter must have been a small one, if so few lines (versus) filled it, and he was already beginning a second page. Manutius has a note on this subject.

28. *Cogito*;] 'Ire' to be supplied, or some such word; an instance of familiar epistolary brevity. Pompeianum was one of Cicero's many villae, situated near Pompeii, the Campanian city which was buried by the eruptions of Vesuvius, and restored to light again in modern times.

*Vides enim—sumus.*] These words are omitted in some editions. 'Sumus,' as Orelli observes, is the right reading, not 'simus.' "Quanto post," means "how soon

we are going to be together;" literally, "by how much time after this date." Manutius rightly dissents from those who make 'quanto post' equivalent to 'multo post.' It means simply, 'after what time,' which the context shows to be a short time.

*Constitutum*] This is a legal term, signifying an agreement to do something, which a person is bound to do, as an agreement to pay a sum of money at a fixed time or place; which Cicero in a jocular way applies to the complaint of Marius—gout, or whatever it might be that the Romans were so much troubled with: "If you have made any engagement with your podagra (to have it on a certain day), see that you put it off to another day." This use of 'constituo,' and like uses, are very common in Cicero; and the Title of the Digest. (13, tit. 5, &c., 'de Pecunia constituta') furnish abundant examples to explain it.

fac ut in alium diem differas. Cura igitur ut valeas, et me hoc biduo aut triduo exspecta.

### 29. CICERO PLANCO.

(x. 13. A. U. C. 711.)

Ut primum mihi potestas data est augendae dignitatis tuae, nihil praetermisi in te ornando quod positum esset aut in praemio virtutis aut in honore verborum. Id ex ipso Senatus consulto poteris cognoscere. Ita enim est perscriptum ut a me de scripto dicta sententia est, quam Senatus frequens secutus est summo studio magnoque consensu. Ego quamquam ex tuis literis, quas mihi misisti, perspexeram te magis iudicio bonorum quam insignibus gloriae delectari, tamen considerandum nobis existimavi, etiamsi tu nihil postulares, quantum tibi a re publica deberetur. Tu contexes extrema cum primis. Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit, is bellum confecerit. Itaque Homerus non Ajacem, nec Achillem, sed Ulixem appellavit *πολίπορθον*. Vale.

### 30. CICERO PLANCO S.

(x. 14. A. U. C. 711.)

O gratam famam biduo ante victoriam de subsidio tuo, de

*Hoc biduo, &c.*] “Within these two or three days.” See ‘quanto post,’ Ep. 28; and De Sen. c. 6.

29. This letter is addressed to L. Munatius Plancus, who was at this time, together with D. Brutus, opposed to M. Antonius in north Italy. Ep. 26.

*Ut primum*] ‘As soon as.’ As to this use of ‘ut’ with the perfect indic., see Ad Q. Fr. c. 8.

*Ex—Senatus consulto*] A consulum of the senate, or vote of thanks to Plancus for his services, the terms of which, as Cicero says,

were in accordance with a written proposal of his own, and were copied from his dictation, and approved by a full (frequens) senatus. This ‘senatus consultum’ was the ‘insignia gloriae.’

*Contexes*] A metaphor from weaving, “you will finish what others have begun; fit the end and beginning together.”

30. *Victoriam,*] The battle of Mutina, in which M. Antonius was defeated before Plancus had come to the relief of D. Brutus.

studio, de celeritate, de copiis! Atque etiam hostibus fuis spes omnis est in te. Fugisse enim ex praelio Mutinensi dicuntur notissimi latronum duces. Est autem non minus gratum extrema delere quam prima depellere. Equidem expectabam jam tuas literas idque cum multis: sperabamque etiam Lepidum rei publicae temporibus admonitum tecum et cum re publica esse facturum. In illam igitur curam incumbe, mi Plance, ut ne quae scintilla teterrimi belli relinquatur. Quod si erit factum, et rem publicam divino beneficio affeceris, et ipse aeternam gloriam consequere. D. III. Non. Mai.

## 31. CICERO PAETO.

(IX. 23. A. U. C. 708.)

Heri veni in Cumanum: cras ad te fortasse. Sed quum certum sciam, faciam te paullo ante certiore. Etsi M. Caeparius, quum mihi in silva Gallinaria obviam venisset, quaesissemque quid ageres, dixit te in lecto esse quod ex pedibus laborares. Tuli scilicet moleste, ut debui; sed tamen constitui ad te venire ut et viderem te et viserem et caenarem etiam. Non enim arbitror cocum

*Lepidus*] M. Aemilius Lepidus, who commanded a force in the north, a 'slight unmeritable man' (as Shakspeare calls him), who afterwards joined M. Antonius and Octavianus Caesar in forming the triumvirate, and proscribing Cicero and others.

*Affeceris,—consequere.*] The difference in these two tenses is here very apparent: "if this shall be accomplished, you will have done the state a service, like a blessing from the gods, and you will acquire everlasting renown."

31. *Silva Gallinaria*] This was a pine forest, in a low sandy country,

on the coast of Campania, near Liternum. In Juvenal's time (Sat. iii. 308) it was the resort of robbers.

*Quaesissem*] The proper term used in asking a question.

*Ex pedibus laborares.*] Podagra (see no. 28) or arthritis. Cicero expresses a hope that, if the master is troubled with arthritis, his cook is not.

*Viderem te et viserem*] 'Viso,' one of the derivatives of 'vide-o,' is often used to signify the paying of a visit to a sick person. Though it may be sometimes used pretty much like 'video,' it generally seems to signify 'to go for the pur-

etiam te arthriticum habere. Exspecta igitur hospitem quum minime edacem tum inimicum coenis sumptuosis.

### 32. CICERO DOLABELLAE.

(IX. 12. A. U. C. 709.)

Gratulor Baiis nostris, siquidem, ut scribis, salubres repente factae sunt; nisi forte te amant et tibi assentantur, et tamdiu dum tu ades sunt oblitae sui. Quod quidem si ita est, minime miror caelum etiam et terras vim suam, si tibi ita conveniat, dimittere. Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro quam requirebas habebam mecum, quod non putaram. Itaque eam tibi misi, quam velim sic legas ut causam tenuem et inopem nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere [volui] *Levidense*, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Tu velim animo sapienti fortique sis ut tua moderatio et gravitas aliorum infamet injuriam.

### 33. M. CICERO IMP. S. D. M. CAELIO AEDILI CUR.

(II. 14. A. U. C. 704.)

M. Fabio, viro optimo et homine doctissimo, familiar-

pose of seeing;’ while ‘vide-o’ generally expresses the simple act of perception.

32. A letter to P. Cornelius Dolabella, the third husband of Cicero’s daughter Tullia.

*Baiæ*] A place on the coast of Campania, on the west side of the bay of Naples, and near Puteoli (Pozzuoli). It was a favourite resort of the wealthy Romans, who came to enjoy the sea and the hot springs; but the place was not healthy, according to Cicero.

*Pro Deiotaro*] This oration in

favour of this old king of Galatia, delivered at Rome B. C. 45, is extant. It is good enough for the subject, as Cicero says.

*Levidense*,] This word is said to be applied to cloth, of which the threads are loosely packed together, not close (*raro filo*). See Forcellini. As to ‘crasso filo,’ see De Am. c. 7.

33. A letter from Cicero when he was proconsul of Cilicia, to M. Caelius, who was then aedilis curulis at Rome.



issime utor mirificeque eum diligo, quum propter summum ingenium ejus summamque doctrinam tum propter singularem modestiam. Ejus negotium sic velim suscipias ut si esset res mea. Novi ego vos magnos patronos: hominem occidat oportet qui vestra opera uti velit; sed in hoc homine nullam accipio excusationem. Omnia relinques si me amabis, quum tua opera Fabius uti volet. Ego res Romanas vehementer exspecto et desidero; in primisque quid agas scire cupio. Nam jamdiu propter hiemis magnitudinem nihil novi ad nos afferebatur.

## 34. CICERO CASSIO S.

(XII. 6. A. U. C. 711.)

Qui status rerum fuerit tum quum has litteras dedi, scire poteris ex C. Tidio Strabone, viro bono et optime de re publica sentiente; nam quid dicam cupidissimo tui, qui domo et fortunis relictis ad te potissimum profectus sit? Itaque eum tibi ne commendo quidem: adventus ipsius ad te satis eum commendabit. Tu velim sic existimes tibi que persuadeas, omne perfugium bonorum in te et Bruto esse positum, si quod nolim adversi quid evenerit. Res quum haec scribebam erat in extremum adducta discrimen. Brutus enim Mutinae vix jam sustinebat. Qui si conservatus erit, vicinus: sin—quod Dii omen avertant, omnis omnium cursus est ad vos. Proinde fac animum tantum

*Patronos:*] The original sense of this word appears in the relation of 'patronus' and 'cliens.' 'Patronus' was used in Cicero's time to signify an orator, who undertook to manage a man's cause for him. Cicero says, "I know the ways of you great patroni; a man must commit murder, if he would have the benefit of your assistance." You will not under-

take small matters.

34. A letter to C. Cassius Longinus, one of the assassins of Caesar, who was now in Syria raising a force to oppose Dolabella, Cicero's former son-in-law.

*Te et Bruto*] M. Junius Brutus, who was in Macedonia. The other Brutus is Decimus, to whom a previous letter (no. 25, &c.) is addressed.

habeas tantumque apparatus quanto opus est ad universam rem publicam recipendam. Vale.

### 35. CICERO CASSIO S.

(XII. 9. A. U. C. 711.)

Brevitas tuarum literarum me quoque breviorē in scribendo facit; et vere ut dicam, non satis occurrit quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perferri ad te certo scio; tuas autem ignoramus. Tamquam enim clausa sit Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos praeter rumores de oppresso Dolabella, satis illos quidem constantes, sed adhuc sine auctore. Nos confectum bellum quum putaremus, repente a Lepido tuo in summam sollicitudinem sumus adducti. Itaque tibi persuade maximam rei publicae spem in te et in tuis copiis esse. Firmos omnino exercitus habemus: sed tamen ut omnia, ut spero, prospere procedant, multum interest te venire. Exigua enim spes est rei publicae; nam nullam non libet dicere: sed quaecumque est, ea despondetur anno consulatus tui. Vale.

### 36. CICERO ACILIO PROCOS S.

(XIII. 30. A. U. C. 708.)

L. Manlius est Sosis. Is fuit Catinensis: sed est una cum

35. *In actis*] See no. 27.

*Oppresso Dolabella,*] Dolabella was a partizan of the assassins of Caesar, but he was gained over by M. Antonius, who procured for him the governorship of Syria, which Cassius also claimed. In B.C. 43, Cassius took Laodicea, where Dolabella was, who, to avoid falling into the hands of Cassius, ordered a soldier to kill him.

*Lepido tuo*] M. Aemilius Lepidus married a half sister of M. Junius Brutus, the favourite and the assassin of C. Julius Caesar. Cassius also married a half sister of M. Junius Brutus; and accord-

ingly Lepidus and Cassius were 'affines.'

*Despondetur*] A word applied to betrothing a woman to a man: "whatever hope there is, it is betrothed (promised) to the year of your consulship."

36. A letter to M'. Acilius Glabrio, who now held the proconsular office in Sicily, while Caesar, to whose party he belonged, was engaged in the African war.

*L. Manlius est Sosis.*] "There is one L. Manlius Sosis." The first two names are Roman; the third is Sicilian or Greek.

*Catinensis*:] He was once a

reliquis Neapolitanis civis Romanus factus, decurioque Neapoli : erat enim adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem sociis et Latinis datam. Ejus frater Catinaenuper mortuus est. Nullam omnino arbitramur de ea hereditate controversiam eum habiturum ; et est hodie in bonis. Sed quoniam habet praeterea negotia vetera in Sicilia sua, et hanc hereditatem fraternam et omnia ejus tibi commendo, in primisque ipsum virum optimum mihi que familiarissimum, iis studiis literarum doctrinaeque praeditum quibus ego maxime delector. Peto igitur abs te ut eum, sive aderit sive non venerit in Siciliam, in meis intimis maximeque necessariis scias esse ; itaque tractes ut intelligat meam sibi commendationem magno adjumento fuisse.

### 37. M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

(II. 4. A. U. C. 701.)

Epistolarum genera multa esse non ignoras ; sed unum illud certissimum cujus causa inventa res ipsa est, ut cer-

citizen of Catina (Catania) in Sicily ; but after the passing of the Lex Julia (B.C. 90) he became a Roman citizen, for this lex gave the Roman citizenship (*civitas*) to the *Socii* and *Latini*, who were citizens of Italian towns before the enactment of the lex. A lex of the year B.C. 89, called *Plautia Papiria*, seems to have had for its object to explain the Lex Julia, or to make some additional provision as to those who had become members (*adscripti*) of Italian towns before the passing of the Lex Julia.

*Decurio*] *Decuriones* in Italian municipal towns were the members of the senates of municipal towns. *Sosis* was a senator (*decurio*) of Naples.

*In bonis.*] ‘*Bona*’ is a Roman

law term, which signifies ‘a whole property :’ ‘*esse in bonis*’ is to be in possession. Cicero supposes that there will be no difficulty about *Sosis* being acknowledged as his brother’s ‘*heres*,’ as entitled to the ‘*hereditas*,’ or ‘*succession* :’ because he was already in possession, and nobody disputed his title.

*Negotia vetera*] From ‘*negotium*’ is formed the word ‘*negotiator*.’ See *Ad Q. Fr. c. 1*. *Sosis* had affairs in Sicily to settle, money to get in.

37. A letter to C. Scribonius Curio, about nothing at all ; but a specimen of what Cicero could say, though he had nothing to write about.

tiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Hujus generis literas a me profecto non exspectas. Tuarum enim rerum domesticos habes et scriptores et nuntios. In meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistolarum genera duo quae me magno opere delectant; unum familiare et jocosum, alterum severum et grave. Utro me minus deceat uti non intelligo. Jocerne tecum per literas? Civem mehercule non puto esse qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem nisi de re publica? Atque in hoc genere haec mea causa est, ut neque ea quae nunc sentio velim scribere. Quamobrem, quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor. Est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta et parata, incredibilis quaedam exspectatio, quam tu una re facillime vinces, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur, in iis esse elaborandum. In hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem: et hoc quidquid attingi non feci inflammandi tui causa sed testificandi amoris mei.

## 38. CICERO BRUTO S.

(XIII. 14. A. U. C. 708.)

L. Titio Strabone, equite Romano, in primis honesto et

*Nostra aut ipsorum*] Professor Key (Grammar, 910) explains 'nostra interest' to be a corruption of 'nostram inter rem est.' If the explanation is correct, the genitive with 'interest' is easily explained.

*Neque ea*] Perhaps something is omitted, for we should expect another 'neque' or 'nec,' followed by something else.

*Exspectatio,*] Curio was now

quaestor in Asia, where his conduct, as Cicero means to say, was such as to give great hopes of his future career. On his return he was elected tribunus plebis, B.C. 50.

38. A letter addressed to M. Junius Brutus, who was now governor of Gallia Cisalpina, to which office he had been appointed by Caesar.



ornato familiarissime utor. Omnia mihi cum eo intercedunt jura summae necessitudinis. Huic in tua provincia pecuniam debet P. Cornelius. Ea res a Volcatio, qui Romae jus dicit, rejecta in Galliam est. Peto a te hoc diligentius quam si mea res esset, quo est honestius de amicorum pecunia laborare quam de sua, ut negotium conficiendum cures, ipse suscipias, transigas, operamque des, quoad tibi aequum et rectum videbitur, ut quam commodissima conditione libertus Strabonis, qui ejus rei causa missus est, negotium conficiat ad nummosque perveniat. Id et mihi gratissimum erit, et tu ipse L. Titium cognosces amicitia tua dignissimum. Quod ut tibi curae sit, ut omnia solent esse quae me velle scis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

### 39. CICERO TREBATIO.

(VII. 7. A. U. C. 700.)

Ego te commendare non desisto ; sed quid proficiam ex te

*Jura, &c.*] In xiii. 12, in another letter to M. Brutus, Cicero uses the expression “ Q. Fufidium quocum mihi omnes necessitudines sunt.” ‘Necessitudo’ means ‘close intimacy.’ The expression “jura summae,” &c., is one of that kind, which renders the Latin language so difficult to translate. There is no difficulty about the meaning of ‘jura’ (De Sen. c. 9), but it is not used here in its strict sense ; and the application of it to ‘necessitudo’ makes the difficulty. It may be translated : “between him and me there exist all the mutual claims of the greatest intimacy.”

*Jus dicit,*] Volcatius was praetor urbanus at Rome (jus dicebat). The money was apparently payable in Gallia, for Volcatius had

refused to take cognizance of the matter at Rome, and had referred it to the jurisdiction of Brutus.

*Conditione*] “On the most favourable terms ;” he adds, “consistently with equity and what is right.” But still it is a letter in favour of a suitor, written to the man who was to decide on the matter in question, and to help the agent of Strabo to get at the money.

39. A letter from Cicero to Trebatius, whom he had recommended to Caesar, who was then proconsul in Gallia (Ad Div. vi. 5). C. Trebatius Testa was a jurisconsultus, and had no taste for military affairs. The poet Horace was acquainted with Trebatius, to whom he addressed the first satire of the Second Book.

scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me toties accipere tuas literas quoties a Quinto mihi fratre afferantur. In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod capias suadeo, et ad nos quam primum recurras. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen assequi quod volumus possumus, perfice ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adjuvabit meus, multum Balbus; sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. Imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem, ut tibi unum timendum sit ne ipse tibi defuisse videre.

#### 40. M. CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

(VII. 10. A. U. C. 701.)

Legi tuas literas ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde jureconsultum videri. Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quod si in Bri-

*Balbo*] L. Cornelius Balbus, an adherent of Caesar, with whom he was in Gallia, at least during part of Caesar's time there, in the capacity of praefectus fabrum, or chief of the engineers.

There is a speech of Cicero ex-tant in behalf of this Balbus, delivered B.C. 55.

*Britannia*] Caesar was now preparing for his second British expedition, B.C. 54.

*Essedum*] This was the name, probably a British word with a Roman termination, of the war-chariots which the Britons used (Caesar, Bell. Gall. iv. 33). Cicero supposed that Trebatius would accompany Caesar to Britain, but he did not go.

*Sine Britannia*] He hopes that he may obtain Caesar's favour, even if he did not accompany him.

*Singularem*] After this word some editions add 'habes;' but it appears to be added by some copyist, and it is not wanted.

40. *Jureconsultum*] Cicero in his letters to Trebatius often jokes about his legal studies. Trebatius did not enjoy the very highest reputation at Rome as a lawyer, wherefore Cicero says, "You have reason to be glad that you have got into those parts where you would be considered to know something." A lawyer in Gallia or in Britain at that time would be a rarity.

tanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verumtamen—rideamus licet, sum enim a te invitatus—subinvideo tibi ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo ad quem ceteri non propter superbiam ejus sed propter occupationem adspirare non possunt. Sed tu in ista epistola nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus, quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt quam meae. Valde metuo ne frigeas in hibernis. Quamobrem camino luculento utendum censeo; idem Mucio et Manilio placebat, praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere audio; quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus; qui

*Sum enim a te invitatus*] Trebatius, it appears, had set Cicero the example of joking or bantering.

*Ultró—arcessitum*] Trebatius was proud of having had an invitation from Caesar, of which he informed Cicero. Caesar was always working, planning his campaigns, meditating his ambitious designs, or writing. He was always busy. No man worked harder than this the most accomplished of the Romans. Like all men of real talent, he was always doing something.

*Ne frigeas*] Trebatius was spending the winter in the northern part of Gallia. Cicero is perhaps playing on the word 'frigeas,' which also means "having nothing to do;" for he was of no use to Caesar. He recommends him to keep a bright fire. 'Caminus,' though the origin of our word chimney, does not mean a chimney. Manutius has an elaborate note on the 'caminus.' In the camp it might be a brazier, or something

of the kind.

*Mucio et Manilio*] They were lawyers. Q. Mucius is mentioned in the Digest (1 tit. 2. s. 2. § 45) as a contemporary of Trebatius. Cicero is still bantering Trebatius about his profession. 'Praesertim qui,' &c. "especially as you have no large stock of military cloaks." The 'sagum' was the dress in the camp, and often opposed to 'toga,' the civil dress. This is an allusion to the little turn for war that his friend had; or his poverty.

*Istic satis calere*] "Are warm enough where you are," have plenty to do, as opposed to 'frigere.' Cicero appears to be alluding to the state of affairs in Gallia.

*Cautior*] This is a play on the word. One of the duties of the lawyer was 'cavere,' to take security, or to use all proper means to protect his client. 'In advocationibus' means in your undertaking to assist your clients. 'Advocatus' is not the orator who made the speech, but the man who

neque in Oceano natare volueris studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne andabatom quidem defraudare poteramus.

Sed jam satis jocati sumus. Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim tute scis; quam saepe ego. Sed mehercule jam intermiseram ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen iis literis quas proxime dedi putavi esse hominem commonendum. Id feci. Quid profecerim facias me velim certiolem; et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus. Scire enim cupio quid agas, quid exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solatium quare facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam: sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius, me qui te non Romam attraham, te qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel jocosa congressio pluris erit quam non modo

gave his assistance in the management of a cause in some other way, as by his legal advice, for example.

*Natandi,*] It appears that Trebatius was a great swimmer. This passage explains the advice given with all legal formality by Trebatius, in the Satire of Horace (ii. 1, 7):

“Ter uncti  
Transnanto Tiberim somno quibus  
est opus alto.”

See Heindorf's note.

*Andabatom*] ‘Andabata’ in some MSS. This is a Greek word, and is said to signify gladiators who fought with helmets which had no apertures for the eyes, and consequently they fought in the dark. It appears that Trebatius

was fond of such sights. He would not be cheated out of any show, even that of men fighting blindfolded, which would be a spectacle for vulgar amusement.

*Vel severa vel jocosa*] “Either serious or mirthful.” One meeting of ours will be worth more than not only the enemies, but even our brethren the Aedui. That is worth more than a meeting with the enemy, which to Trebatius at least would not be very pleasant; or even than a meeting with our friends the Aedui. The Aedui, a Gallic nation, had been honoured with the title of ‘fratres’ by the Roman senate. Caesar (Bell. Gall. i. 33): “Aeduos fratres consanguineosque saepe numero ab Senatu appellatos.”



hostes sed etiam fratres nostri Aedui. Quare omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam.

Aut consolando aut consilio aut re juvero.

#### 41. CICERO TREBATIO S.

(VII. 19. A. U. C. 710.)

Vide quanti apud me sis; etsi jure id quidem, non enim te amore vinco. Verumtamen quod praesenti tibi prope subnegaram, non tribueram certe, id absenti debere non potui. Itaque ut primum Velia navigare coepi, institui Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam planissime res illa scribi potuit. Sin tibi quaedam videbuntur obscuriora, cogitare debebis nullam artem literis sine interprete et sine aliqua exercitatione percipi

*Aut consolando,&c.*] A quotation from the *Hautontimorumenos* of Terence (i. 1, 34), who was a favourite author with Cicero.

41. This letter was written in July, B.C. 44, when Cicero fled from Rome, after the death of Caesar, with the intention of going to Greece; but he went no further than Rhegium (Reggio), from which place he wrote this letter.

*Velia*] A town originally a settlement of the Phocaeans, on the coast of Lucania, where Trebatius either had property, or perhaps occasionally resided. The place was considered very healthy.

*Topica*] The *Topica* of Cicero, a small work that is extant, is addressed to Trebatius, and Cicero at the beginning of this treatise (c. 1) tells us the occasion of his writing it. He and Trebatius were together in his library at his Tusculanum one day, turning over the

books, when Trebatius fell upon the *Topica* of Aristotle, and he was curious to know what it was about. Cicero told him that it was a method of discovering arguments (*disciplinam inveniendorum argumentorum*), and recommended him to read it; but Trebatius could make nothing of the book. Cicero says (*Topica*, c. 1) that when he got to Velia, the place reminded him of Trebatius, and of his wish to know what this obscure book contained; and accordingly Cicero, though he had no books with him, wrote a short account of the contents of the *Topica* from memory, during the voyage from Velia to Rhegium. But the work contains something of Cicero's own, and only a portion of what is in Aristotle.

*Cogitare debebis*] May be rendered "it will be your business, your duty to consider." The use of 'debeo' is one that a young student should master.

posse. Non longe abieris. Num jus civile vestrum ex libris cognosci potest, qui quamquam plurimi sunt doctorem tamen nonnunquam desiderant? Quamquam tu si attente leges, si saepius, per te omnia consequere ut certe intelligas. Ut vero etiam ipsi tibi loci, proposita quaestione, occurrant, exercitatione consequere. In qua quidem nos te continebimus, si et salvi redierimus et salva ista offenderimus. v. Kal. Sextil. Rhegio.

## LIB. II.

### 1. TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S. P. D.

(xvi. 9. A. U. C. 704.)

Nos a te, ut scis, discessimus a. d. iv. Non. Novembr.: Leucadem venimus a. d. viii. Idus Novembr.: a. d. vii.

*Literis*] This means by the means of letters, or from a book only. One might suppose that the preposition 'ex' or some other word is omitted. Cicero knew, as all antiquity knew, that oral instruction was better than a book. This useful truth seems to be in some danger of being forgotten.

*Non longe abieris, &c.*] You need not go far for an example of this. "Can your jus civile, your Roman law, be learned from books? for, though there are plenty of them, they sometimes require an expositor."

*Nonnunquam*] Is an emendation. This or some equivalent emendation is certainly required. See Orelli's note.

*Certe intelligas.*] Means "at least understand." Manutius aptly compares a passage of the *Andria* of Terence, iv. 1, 17:

"Atque aliquis dicat, nihil promoveris.

Multum: molestus certe ei fuero atque animo morem gessero."

If you will work hard, says Cicero, you will understand it at least; but in order to be expert at finding loci (topics, heads), you must get that by practice. As to the meaning of 'loci,' see *De Sen. c. 9*.

*In qua, &c.*] "To which exercise I will keep you, if I return safe and find all safe with you."

II. 1. This is partly a recapitulation of no. 13, &c., lib. i.

Actium; ibi propter tempestatem a. d. vi. Idus morati sumus. Inde a. d. v. Idus Corcyram bellissime navigavimus. Corcyrae fuimus usque a. d. xvi. Kalend. Decembr., tempestatibus retenti. A. d. xv. Kalend. Decembr. in portum Corcyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia cxx. processimus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque a. d. ix. Kalendas. Interea qui cupide profecti sunt, multi naufragia fecerunt. Nos eo die caenati solvimus. Inde austro lenissimo, caelo sereno, nocte illa et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus: eodemque vento postridie, id erat a. d. vii. Kalend. Decembr., hora quarta Brundisium venimus; eodemque tempore simul nobiscum in oppidum introiit Terentia quae te facit plurimi. A. d. v. Kalend. Decembr. servus Cn. Plancii Brundisii tandem aliquando mihi a te expectatissimas literas reddidit, datas Idibus Novembr., quae me molestia valde levarunt. Utinam omnino liberassent. Sed tamen Asclapo medicus plane confirmat propediem te valentem fore. Nunc quid ego te hortor ut omnem diligentiam adhibeas ad convalescendum? Tuam prudentiam, temperantiam, amorem erga me novi: scio te omnia facturum ut nobiscum quam primum sis. Sed tamen ita velim ut ne quid properes. Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdo-

*Cassiopen*] A port in the north part of Corcyra, whence it appears that the passage was made to Hydrus, as the Greeks called it, the Roman Hydruntum, now Otranto. "Ludibundi pervenimus:" "we arrived after a pleasant voyage; it was more like play or amusement, or a pleasure excursion, than a real voyage."

*Cn. Plancii*] On behalf of whom there is an extant oration of Cicero.

*Utinam*] 'Utinam' is 'ut,' or 'uti,' with 'nam' added to it, and the phrase is elliptical. Com-

pare this use of 'ut' in Terence, *Phormio*, iv. 4, 6:

"Ut te quidem omnes di deae superi inferi  
Malis exemplis perdant."

*Asclapo*] To whom he afterwards gave a letter of recommendation to Servius Sulpicius. No. 19. lib. 1.

*Symphoniam*] It seems that Tiro had accepted some invitation of Lyso, perhaps to a musical party; and Cicero thought that it might defer his recovery. See *Symphonia*, Forcellini.

mada incidere. Sed quoniam pudori tuo maluisti obsequi quam valetudini, reliqua cura. Curio misi ut medico honos haberetur, et tibi daret quod opus esset: me cui jussisset curaturum. Equum et mulum Brundisii tibi reliqui. Romae vereor ne ex Kal. Jan. magni tumultus sint. Nos agemus omnia modice. Reliquum est ut te hoc rogem et a te petam, ne temere naviges. Solent nautae festinare quaestus sui causa. Cautus sis, mi Tiro. Mare magnum et difficile tibi restat. Si poteris, cum Mescinio; caute is solet navigare. Si minus, cum honesto aliquo homine cujus auctoritate navicularius moveatur. In hoc omnem diligentiam si adhibueris teque nobis incolumem stiteris, omnia a te habebo. Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale. Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime. Vale, salve.

*Honos*] 'A fee:' hence the word 'honorarium,' which signified what was given to Jurisconsulti, Medici and others who exercised the liberal professions. That which was given to such persons was not called 'merces,' or 'pay for services,' but 'honorarium,' to signify that it was a return made for a 'beneficium,' or act of kindness (Ulpian, Dig. 11. tit. 5. s. 1).

*Me cui jussisset curaturum*] He told Curio that he would repay the money which he advanced to any person whom he should name. This is an ordinary sense of 'curo' in Cicero, as "L. Cincio . . . pro signis Megaricis . . . curavi." Ad Att. i. 8.

*Ex Kal. Jan.*] "Upon the coming of or immediately after the

first of January," when the new consuls would enter on their office, C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, who wished to deprive Caesar of his command in Gaul. See the next letter.

*Nautae*] A 'nauta' is not only a sailor generally, but the master of a vessel. "Nautam accipere debemus eum qui navem exercet: quamvis nautae appellantur omnes qui navis navigandae causa in nave sunt, sed de exercitore solummodo praetor sentit," that is in the Edictum. (Ulpian, Dig. 4. tit. 9. s. 1.)

*Honesto aliquo, &c.*] Some person of consideration, for whose opinion the 'navicularius' who is the same as the 'nauta,' will have some regard.



## 2. TULLIUS ET CICERO, TERENTIA, TULLIA, Q. Q. TIRONI S. PLUR. DIC.

(xvi. 11. A. U. C. 705.)

Etsi opportunitatem operae tuae omnibus locis desidero, tamen non tam mea quam tua causa doleo te non valere. Sed quoniam in quartanam conversa vis est morbi, sic enim scribit Curius, spero te diligentia adhibita etiam firmiorem fore. Modo fac, id quod est humanitatis tuae, ne quid aliud cures hoc tempore nisi ut quam commodissime convalescas. Non ignoro quantum ex desiderio labores, sed erunt omnia facilia si valebis. Festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam suscipias aeger et periculose hieme naviges. Ego ad Urbem accessi pridie Nonas Januar. Obviam mihi sic est proditum ut nihil possit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius belli, cui quum cuperem mederi et, ut

2. A joint letter from Cicero, his son, his wife, his daughter, and Quintus father, and Quintus son to Tiro. A family epistle written by Cicero to Tiro.

*Omnibus locis*] This does not mean "in all places;" it means "in all things, for all reasons, on all occasions, I feel the want of your services." There is a use of it somewhat similar in De Am. c. 13. "multis locis."

*Quartanam*] The fever of Tiro had become a quartan, or recurred on the fourth day, instead of recurring at shorter intervals.

*Nausea*] "Sea sickness." It is a Greek word *ναυσία*, or *ναυτία*, from *ναῦς*, a ship.

*Ad Urbem accessi*] He was outside the walls, expecting the honour of a triumph for his petty warfare in Cilicia. A general who

was a claimant for a triumph could not enter the city without forfeiting his claim, for the entry put an end to his military commission. The granting of a triumph by the Senate was a permission to enter the city in military procession. Hence the phrase "ad urbem accedere," "ad urbem esse," are applied to a general who was waiting outside the walls for a triumph. Here Cicero was with his lictors and the insignia of authority waiting for what he never got. When Cicero was in Cilicia he wrote a long letter to Cato (xv. 4), in which he tried by all the arts in his power to prevail on this stubborn but honest Roman to consider his claims to a triumph. Cato's letter, which is the next, is a sample of the man.

arbitror, possem, cupiditates certorum hominum, nam ex utraque parte sunt qui pugnare cupiant, impedimento mihi fuerunt. Omnino et ipse Caesar, amicus noster, minaces ad Senatum et acerbis literas miserat; et erat adhuc impudens qui exercitum et provinciam invito Senatu teneret: et Curio meus illum incitabat. Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius nulla vi expulsi ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant. Posteaquam Senatus consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis, et nobis qui procons. sumus, negotium dederat ut curaremus, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet, numquam majore in periculo civitas fuit, numquam improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem ducem. Omnino ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur. Id fit auctoritate et studio Pompeii nostri qui Caesarem sero coepit timere. Nobis inter has turbas Senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum: sed Lentulus Consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset

*Minaces—litteras*] The story of the quarrel of Caesar and the Senate is told in the beginning of the Civil War of Caesar, lib. i. Caesar was now, January, B.C. 49, at Ravenna, in Cisalpine Gaul, the nearest town in his province to the frontier of Italy; for the name of Italy did not at this time comprehend Cisalpine Gaul.

*Adhuc*] This is 'ad hoc' 'besides:' "impudens . . . qui teneret," "shameless in resolving to keep his army and his province against the will of the Senate." As to "impudens qui . . . teneret," see De Sen. c. 19: "O miserum qui non viderit," and De Am. c. 27.

*Antonius, &c.*] M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus, "tribuni plebis," fled to Caesar after the Senatus Consultum was passed, which Cicero mentions in the next sentence. (Bell. Civil. i. 5.)

*Proconsules*] Cicero was still proconsul: he still kept his title, for he was expecting a triumph, as above observed.

*Ne quid res publica, &c.*] The usual form of a Senatus Consultum, by which unlimited power was given to the magistrates to maintain the public safety. It was enacted on the 6th of January, B.C. 49, or "VIII. Id. Jan." as Caesar says. (Bell. Civil. i. 5.) Compare this passage of Cicero with the passage of Caesar just referred to.

*Simul atque expedisset, &c.*] "Lentulus said that he would bring the matter of my triumph forward as soon as he had settled the urgent matters of the state." The expression "quae essent necessaria" is the genuine Roman expression in these dependent clauses, particularly when 'sum' is used; the object is not to express

quae essent necessaria de re publica dixit se relaturum. Nos agimus nihil cupide, eoque est nostra pluris auctoritas. Italiae regiones discriptae sunt quam quisque partem tueretur. Nos Capuam sumpsimus. Haec te scire volui. Tu etiam atque etiam cura ut valeas literasque ad me mittas quotiescumque habebis cui des. Etiam atque etiam vale. D. pridie Idus Jan.

### 3. M. CATO S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

(xv. 5. A. U. C. 704.)

Quod et res publica me et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam, cognitam in maximis rebus, domi togati, armati foris, pari industria administrari gaudeam. Itaque quod pro meo iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperii nostri voluntatem,

any particular matter, but generally something of the kind indicated by the word 'necessaria.' 'De re publica' belongs to 'necessaria,' but I do not for that reason put a comma after it. The student must learn to exercise his understanding without the help of stops. 'Referre' is the word used to signify the bringing of a matter before the Senate.

*Discriptae*] Orelli has 'descriptae,' and yet there is a reading 'discriptae,' which is the true reading. See De Sen. c. 2.

3. The letter of Cato referred to in the notes on the preceding letter.

*Togati*,] In the genitive singular, which refers to the 'tui' implied in 'tuam.' Cato refers to Cicero's services in his consulship,

B.C. 63, when he crushed the conspiracy of Catiline. 'Toga,' the dress of the citizen: hence 'togatus,' in his civil capacity, not his military, which is expressed by 'armatus' (foris).

*Ariobarzanis*] The third of the name, king of Cappadocia, and an unfortunate debtor of Pompeius Magnus, and M. Junius Brutus. Cicero worked about a hundred talents out of him for the patriot and philosopher Brutus; and got his note at six months for two hundred to Pompeius (Cic. Ad Att. vi. 3): "Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter c.;" which contains an example of 'curo,' as used in no. 1. lib. ii. Cicero had saved this 'very poor king,' as he calls him, from a conspiracy.

sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. Supplicationem decretam, si tu qua in re nihil fortuito sed summa tua ratione et continentia rei publicae provisum est Diis immortalibus gratulari nos quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo. Quod si triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem et idcirco casum potius quam te laudari mavis, neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus, et triumpho multo clarius est, Senatum judicare potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam quam vi militum aut benignitate Deorum retentam atque conservatam esse: quod ego mea sententia censebam. Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi

*Supplicationem decretam,*] These words depend on 'gaudeo,' not on 'gratulari,' though one of the constructions of 'gratulari' is this: "Ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus." Cic. Phil. ii. 12. The accusative after 'gratulari' here is "qua in re," &c.

*Tibi referre acceptum*] Is a book-keeping phrase, which means "to enter a thing as received or paid," "to give a man credit for a payment." The phrase "acceptum ferre" was also used in the same sense. An entry in the books against a debtor was "expensum ferre," "to charge him with a sum of money." Hence a man's account books were called 'codices,' or "tabulae accepti et expensi." These terms frequently occur in the Roman law writers. Those who are curious to see how an exact knowledge of a great part of the Roman language is connected with a knowledge of the legal terminology of the Romans, which more than that of any other people passed current in the ordinary language, may consult such a book

as Unterholzner, "Lehre des Röm. Rechts von den Schuldverhältnissen." The passage in the text therefore means, "if you would rather that we should thank the immortal gods for your success, than set it down to your credit, I am glad of the supplicatio."

*Praerogativam*] "If you think a supplicationem is the guarantee of a triumph," &c., I must tell you, "neque supplicationem," &c. The tribus, or centuria, which voted first, was so called, says Asconius, "quod primum rogaretur," "was first put to the vote." The vote of the first tribe or centuria had a great effect on those which followed, and hence 'praerogativa' was used to signify an indication, or sure sign of the future, derived from something that was past and certain. Hence comes our English word 'prerogative,' which has a sense in no way like that of the original.

*Neque—et*] See De Am. c. 27.

*Pluribus*] If this was a long letter for Cato, what would a short one be? The student should read



ut, quod maxime volo, existimes me laborare ut tibi persuadeam me et voluisse de tua majestate quod amplissimum sim arbitratus, et quod tu maluisti factum esse gaudere. Vale, et nos dilige, et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et rei publicae praesta.

## 4. M. CICERO S. D. M. CATONI.

(xv. 6. A. U. C. 704.)

Laetus sum laudari me,  
inquit Hector, opinor apud Naevium,

abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

Ea est enim profecto jucunda laus quae ab iis proficiscitur qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione literarum tuarum, vel testimoniis sententiae dictae, nihil est quod me non assecutum putem. Idque mihi quum amplissimum, tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse quod liquido veritati dares. Et si non modo omnes,

Plutarch's Life of this Cato, who has drawn the man so that he cannot be confounded with any other.

*Majestas*] This word contains 'mag,' the root of 'magnus,' 'magis,' &c.; and it means 'magnitude.' The 'majestas' of the Roman state is its 'magnitude,' 'its fulness,' 'its completeness.' To impair this 'majestas' (immuere) by misconduct, as that of a general in the field, was an offence against the state, an impairing of its 'majestas,' and an offence severely punished. Finally, under the empire 'majestas' signified a kind of treason, the thing impaired or damaged being used for the offence by which it was impaired or damaged. Here 'majestas' is applied to Cicero, and means the fulness or completeness of his merit or dignity. Cato did not

vote for the 'supplicatio,' or religious thanksgiving: he expressed his opinion that Cicero had discharged his duty well, and he thought that sufficient: however, as Cicero preferred a 'supplicatio,' such as Caesar had obtained for his Gallic victories, Cato says he was glad that he had got it. As to 'majestas,' see the article by the author of this note, in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

4. A letter in reply to the preceding. The reader must judge for himself whether Cicero was sincere in what he wrote; or whether his vanity was not mightily offended by his rough friend's straightforward way of dealing.

*Ego vero*] See no. 11. lib. i.

*Liquido*] 'Clearly,' as the following example shows: "tuis lite-

verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstितisse mirabile est, quem ego currum aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium nihil potest esse laudabilius, quam ea tua oratio quae est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam cupiditatis, exposui tibi superioribus literis, quae etiamsi parum justa tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos, sed tamen si deferatur a Senatu minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem illum ordinem pro meis ob rem publicam susceptis laboribus me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, quum tuo iudicio quod amplissimum esse arbitraris mihi tribueris, si id quod maluero acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te et sensisse et scripsisse video; resque ipsa declarat tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis jucundum fuisse, quod scribendo adfuisti. Haec enim Senatus consulta non ignoro

ris lectis liquidius de toto sensu tuo iudicavi." Cic. Ad Div. x. 10.

*Quem—currum, &c.*] The car of the triumphant general: the 'laurea,' the wreath of bay round his head. And these were the things that Cicero coveted.

*Ad meum sensum, &c.*] "For, according to my opinion, and to express a sincere and exact judgment on the matter, nothing can be more to my praise than," &c. Manutius quotes another instance of the use of 'ille,' which explains this (Ad Div. viii. 9): "si ad illam summam veritatem legitimam jus exegeris."

*Perscripta a meis necessariis.*] See no. 24, lib. i.

*Parum justa*] "Not very reasonable," "not sufficient," and the like. This word 'justus' is a

common stumbling-block. It is not the English 'just,' as in the phrase 'a just man,' for 'justus vir' in Latin means a 'perfect man,' or one as perfect as man may be, a complete man, a man pre-eminently. In English we have other senses of 'just,' which may help us to understand the Latin: as 'just so,' which means 'exactly so.' See De Am. c. 20.

*Honos,*] The triumph. He had got the 'supplicatio,' but he was hankering after the triumph; to go in procession through Rome's crowded streets as a victorious general. After all, his petty victories were gained by his brother Quintus, who was his legatus in Cilicia.

*Quod scribendo adfuisti.*] "That you were present when the Senatus

ab amicissimis ejus cujus de honore agitur scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te propediem videbo; atque utinam re publica meliore quam timeo.

## 5. TULLIUS S. D. TIRONI S.

(XVI. 12. A. U. C. 705.)

Quo in discrimine versetur salus mea et bonorum omnium atque universae rei publicae ex eo scire potes, quod domos nostras et patriam ipsam vel diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus. In eum locum res deducta est, ut, nisi qui Deus vel casus aliquis subvenerit, salvi esse nequeamus. Equidem ut veni ad Urbem, non destiti omnia et sentire et dicere et facere quae ad concordiam pertinerent; sed mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam iis qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante nihil esse bello civili miserius. Itaque quum Caesar amentia quadam raperetur, et oblitus nominis atque honorum suorum, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus; quam sapienter aut quam fortiter, nihil attinet disputari. Quo quidem in casu simus vides. Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam, delectus qui sunt habitus et praesidia nostra dimittantur; se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Noniano, his enim obtigerunt, traditurum: ad

consultum was drawn up," by which a 'supplicatio' was decreed for the Cilician victories. It was usual for the friends of the person in whose favour any *Senatus consultum* was passed, to assist at the drawing up of it (*scribendo adesse*); and the names of those who were present were prefixed (*praescriptae*, for that is the true reading) to the *Senatus consultum*. There is a complete example of this in a letter of Cicero's (*Ad Div. viii. 8*).

Cicero, notwithstanding this fine letter, was greatly displeased at Cato's conduct in the matter of the 'supplicatio,' and he expressed himself about it to his friend Atticus in no measured terms.

5. Cicero describes the events which had happened since Caesar crossed the Rubicon. He and others fled from Rome.

*Invaserat—improbis,*] The verb 'invado,' is sometimes used with a dative. See Forcellini.

consulatus petitionem se venturum: neque se jam velle absente se rationem haberi sui: se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum. Accepimus conditiones; sed ita ut removeat praesidia ex his locis quae occupavit, ut sine metu de his ipsis conditionibus Romae Senatus haberi possit. Id ille si fecerit, spes est pacis non honestae, leges enim imponuntur, sed quidvis est melius quam sic esse ut sumus. Sin autem ille suis conditionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est; ejusmodi tamen quod sustinere ille non possit, praesertim quum a suis conditionibus ipse fugerit, tantummodo ut eum intercludamus ne ad Urbem possit accedere; quod sperabamus fieri posse. Delectus enim magnos habebamus; putabamusque illum metuere si ad Urbem ire coepisset ne Gallias amitteret: quas ambas habet inimicissimas, praeter Transpadanos: ex Hispaniaque sex legiones et magna auxilia, Afranio et Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videbitur, si insaniet, posse opprimi; modo ut Urbe salva. Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat T. Labienus, socius sceleris esse noluit; reliquit

*Absente se, &c.*] Caesar had insisted on coming to Rome, to be a candidate for the consulship. He would not consent that so important a matter should be done in his absence. Orelli has 'haberi suam.'

*Trinum nundinum*] 'Trinum nundinum,' or 'trinundinum,' comprehended three nundinae, or two Roman weeks, for the first and third nundinae were both included in the reckoning. The nundinae (novendinae) were the last day of the eight-day week; the name 'ninth' being derived from the fact that the last day of a preceding week, and the last of a current week, were both included in the

reckoning. On the Roman use of the ordinal numbers in reckoning, see Savigny, *System des Heut. Röm. Rechts*, vol. iv. Beylage 11.

*Tantummodo—ne, &c.*] 'Tantummodo' refers to "quod sustinere ille non possit," a fact which the common punctuation disguises as much as it can.

*Habebamus;—putabamus*] Epistolary tenses, see no. 11. lib. i.

*Modo ut Urbe*] One has seldom to complain of want of stops, and yet here where the common editions put a comma before 'modo,' there ought to be a larger stop, if any are used at all.

*T. Labienus,*] One of Caesar's legati in Gallia, who now left Caesar,



illum et nobiscum est : multique idem facturi esse dicuntur. Ego adhuc orae maritimae praesum a Formiis. Nul- lum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meae literae cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Sin autem erit bellum, video me castris et certis legionibus praefuturum. Habeo etiam illam molestiam quod Dola- bella noster apud Caesarem est. Haec tibi nota esse volui : quae cave ne te perturbent et impedian valetu- dinem tuam. Ego A. Varroni, quem quum amantissimum mei cognovi tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et valetudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis, et totum te susciperet ac tueretur : quem omnia facturum confido ; recepit enim et mecum locutus est suavissime. Tu quoniam eo tempore mecum esse non potuisti, quo ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines aut committas ut aut aeger aut hieme naviges. Numquam sero te venisse putabo, si salvus veneris. Adhuc neminem videram qui te postea vidisset quam M. Volusius, a quo tuas literas accepi : quod non mirabar. Neque enim meas puto ad te literas tanta hieme perferri. Sed da operam ut valeas ; et si valebis, quum recte navigari poterit, tum naviges. Cicero meus in For- miano erat : Terentia et Tullia Romae. Cura ut valeas.

iv. Kalendas Febr. Capua.

## 6. CICERO F. TIRONI SUO DULCISS. S.

(xvi. 21. A. U. C. 710.)

Quum vehementer tabellarios exspectarem quotidie, ali-

and went over to the party of Pom- peius.

*Apud illum*] He means Caesar, the rapidity of whose movements disconcerted his feeble opponents.

*Videram*] An epistolary tense. We say, "I have hitherto seen no one who has seen you since M.

Volusius." The practice of Orelli and others in punctuation is op- posed to all reason. He puts a comma after 'videram,' and even another after 'vidisset;' and then he expected, I suppose, that people should understand it.

6. A letter from young Marcus

quando venerunt post diem XL. et VI. quam a vobis discesserant; quorum mihi fuit adventus optatissimus. Nam quum maximam cepissem laetitiam ex humanissimi et carissimi patris epistola, tum vero jucundissimae tuae literae cumulum mihi gaudii attulerunt. Itaque me jam non poenitebat intercapedinem scribendi fecisse, sed potius laetabar; fructum enim magnum humanitatis tuae capiebam ex silentio mearum literarum. Vehementer igitur gaudeo te meam sine dubitatione accepisse excusationem. Gratos tibi optatosque esse qui de me rumores afferuntur non dubito, mi dulcissime Tiro: praestaboque et enitar ut in dies magis magisque haec nascens de me duplicetur opinio. Quare quod polliceris te buccinatorem fore existimationis meae, firmo id constantique animo facias licet. Tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque attulerunt errata aetatis meae, ut non solum animus a factis sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant. Cujus te sollicitudinis et doloris participem fuisse notum exploratumque est mihi; nec id mirum. Nam quum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa, tum etiam tua; socium enim te meorum commodorum semper esse volui. Quoniam igitur tum ex me doluisti, nunc ut duplicetur tuum ex me

Cicero, a student at Athens, to Tiro. Marcus, was born B.C. 65, and was accordingly now twenty-one years of age. The letter is curious, as being from a young Roman who was prosecuting his studies abroad. Marcus had been somewhat irregular in his conduct, but he was sorry for it. He writes a better letter than most young men of his age could.

*Intercapedinem*] "An interval," "a space between." The youth has his father's authority for the use of this word. Here he means to say that the way in which Tiro received his excuse for not writing

was very gratifying, and he was almost glad that he had neglected writing, as it was the occasion of so pleasing a letter from Tiro.

*Buccinatorem*] "A trumpeter."  
*Mihi successa,*] Manutius says "pro successisse," and that 'successa' is hardly Latin. But why not? What would young Cicero write except Latin? To say that this letter is not like his father's letters, is nothing to the purpose. One would not expect him to write like his father.

*Tum etiam tua;*] The verb is here wanting, and 'voluisti' may be supplied.

gaudium praestabo. Cratippo me scito non ut discipulum sed ut filium esse conjunctissimum. Nam [quum] audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam ejus suavitatem vehementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque saepenumero partem. Exoro enim ut mecum quam saepissime caenet. Hac introducta consuetudine, saepe inscientibus nobis et caenantibus obrepit, sublataque severitate philosophiae humanissime nobiscum jocatur. Quare da operam ut hunc talem, tam jucundum, tam excellentem virum videas quam primum. Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam? quem nullo tempore a me patior discedere: cujus quum frugi severaque est vita, tum etiam jucundissima convictio. Non est enim sejunctus jocus a φιλολογία et quotidiana συζητήσει. Huic ego locum in proximo conduxī, et ut possum ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitatem. Praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cassium institui: Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo. Utor familiaribus et quotidianis victoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum enim mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides, et horum ceteri similes. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε.

De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in quotidiana declamatione utilis: sed omnia postposui dummodo praeceptis patris parerem. Διαρρήδην enim scrip-

*Cratippo*] Cicero speaks of him in the *De Officiis* (i. 1).

*Caenantibus obrepit,*] "He comes upon us at supper time without any notice." The philosopher no doubt found good cheer at young Cicero's, who has left behind him the name of being a jolly companion.

*Bruttius*] Nothing more is known of him. He was a teacher of rhetoric, which is what Cicero

seems to intend by 'philologia.' The young man's interlarding his letter with scraps of Greek is no more than a young Englishman might do with French, or some other modern language, if he were studying abroad; and he had his father's example for it, who has spoiled many of his letters to Atticus by this tasteless practice.

*Διαρρήδην*] "Distinctly," "in positive terms." This Gorgias, a

serat ut eum dimitterem statim. Tergiversari nolui, ne mea nimia *σπουδή* suspicionem ei aliquam importaret. Deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat, grave esse me de iudicio patris iudicare. Tuum tamen studium et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi. Excusationem angustiarum tui temporis accipio. Scio enim quam soleas esse occupatus. Emissione te praedium vehementer gaudeo; feliciturque tibi rem istam evenire cupio. Hoc loco me tibi gratulari noli mirari. Eodem enim fere loco tu quoque emissem te fecisti me certiore. Habes. Deponendae tibi sunt urbanitates. Rusticus Romanus factus es. Quomodo ego mihi nunc ante oculos tuum jucundissimum conspectum propono! Videor enim videre ementem te rusticas res, cum villico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda semina. Sed quod ad rem pertinet, me tum tibi defuisse aequae ac tu doleo. Sed noli dubitare, mi Tiro, quin te sublevaturus sim, si modo fortuna me: praesertim quum sciam communem nobis emptum esse istum fundum. De mandatis quod tibi curae fuit, est mihi gratum. Sed

rhetorician, is accused of having led the young students at Athens into bad habits, which was a sufficient reason for the order of Cicero to his son. (Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, c. 24.)

*Hoc loco*] "In this part of my letter." Congratulations should come first in a letter, but as Tiro informed Cicero of the purchase in the latter part of his letter, Cicero deferred his congratulation to the close of his letter.

*Habes. Deponendae, &c.*] There are other readings; but this seems to be the best. "You have got it: you must lay aside your city habits."

*Lacinia*] Manutius has a note on the various senses of 'lacinia,' which he seems to conclude rightly

to signify here a napkin or cloth used by a man at table. This imaginary picture of the town-bred, bookish freedman, making his country purchases, talking to his bailiff, and gathering the apple pips in his napkin at the dessert, shows that young Cicero had some taste for humour.

*Communem*] It seems that Tiro had bought it for himself and Marcus jointly, and with borrowed money, after his master's fashion; for Cicero says 'te sublevaturus sim.' 'Fundus' is the name for a whole piece of land, an estate, as we say (*De Sen.* c. 16); and 'fundi' had generally names, as 'Sempronianus,' and so forth.

*Mandatis*] See no. 26, lib. i.



peto a te ut quam celerrime mihi librarius mittatur, maxime quidem Graecus; multum mihi enim eripitur operae in exscribendis hypomnematis. Tu velim in primis cures ut valeas, ut una *συμφιλολογεῖν* possimus. Anterum tibi commendo. Vale.

## 7. CAESAR IMP. S. D. CICERONI IMP.

(AD ATTICUM, IX. 6. A. U. C. 705.)

Quum Furnium nostrum tantum vidissem, neque loqui neque audire meo commodo potuissem, properarem atque essem in itinere praemissis jam legionibus, praeterire tamen non potui quin et scriberem ad te et illum mitterem gratiasque agerem; etsi hoc et feci saepe et saepius mihi facturus videor; ita de me mereris. In primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim. Ad propositum revertar: festinationi meae

*Librarius*] "A copying or writing clerk," to save the youth the labour of writing out his 'hypomnemata,' 'memoranda,' or notes probably of the lectures that he heard.

7. This letter is contained in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, which he wrote after receiving intelligence that Cn. Pompeius had crossed the sea from Brundisium with all his force. Caesar appears to have written this letter on his march to Brundisium, which he reached on the 9th of March. "What he asks of me," says Cicero to Atticus, "in few words indeed, but in the tone of a man who can command, learn from his letter." It is an example of a hasty letter written by a man who had weighty matters on hand.

*Furnium*] A tribunus plebis, B.C.

50, and a friend of Cicero. Caesar, who wished Cicero to be near Rome when he should arrive there, sent Furnius with this letter.

*Meo commodo*] 'Conveniently,' 'consistently with your convenience,' a common form of expression in Cicero. 'Commodo' is the dative. Cicero also says "quum erit tuum commodum." Ad Att. xii. 28.

*Omnium rerum*] Is equivalent to "in omnibus rebus."

*Ad propositum revertar*] Orelli says "an praevertar?" which it would be rather more difficult to explain. Caesar says "I will return to what I began with. I am in a great hurry, and you will excuse me." The Abbé Mongault in his French version of the letters to Atticus renders it correctly.

brevitatieque literarum ignosces. Reliqua ex Furnio cognosces.

## 8. CAESAR OPPIO CORNELIO S.

(AD ATTICUM, IX. 7. A. U. C. 705.)

Gaudeo mehercule vos significare literis quam valde probetis ea quae apud Corfinium sunt gesta. Consilio vestro utar libenter, et hoc libentius quod mea sponte facere constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem, et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. Tentemus hoc modo si possumus omnium voluntates recuperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere, praeter unum L. Sullam quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quemadmodum fieri possit nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis.

N. Magium Pompeii praefectum deprehendi. Scilicet meo instituto usus sum et eum statim missum feci. Jam duo praefecti fabrum Pompeii in meam potestatem vene-

8. This letter is preserved in a letter of Cicero to Atticus. Cicero says, "I have sent to you copies (exempla) of the letters of Balbus and Oppius to me, and also a copy of Caesar's letter to them." Balbus is C. Cornelius Balbus, mentioned above (no. 39, lib. i.). Oppius is C. Oppius, a friend of Caesar, who employed him and Balbus very much in his private affairs. A. Gellius says (xvii. 9) that in his time there was a collection (libri epistolarum) of Caesar's letters to Oppius and Balbus, some parts of which were written in cipher.

*Corfinium*] Caesar took Corfinium in Picenum on his march

from the Rubicon to Brundisium in pursuit of Pompeius; and he set at liberty L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and other men of rank whom he captured there.

*L. Sullam*] L. Cornelius Sulla, who was made dictator B.C. 81, after the complete overthrow of the faction of Marius. He used his power with cruelty, and shed blood without remorse. Plutarch has written the life of Sulla.

*Magium*] His capture is mentioned by Caesar (Bell. Civ. i. 24). Caesar sent him to Pompeius, who was then in Brundisium, with proposals for peace.

runt et a me missi sunt. Si volent grati esse, debebunt Pompeium hortari ut malit mihi esse amicus quam iis qui et illi et mihi semper fuerunt inimicissimi; quorum artificiis effectum est ut res publica in hunc statum perveniret.

## 9. CICERO IMP. S. D. CAESARI IMP.

(AD ATTICUM, IX. 11. A. U. C. 705.)

Ut legi tuas literas quas a Furnio nostro acceperam quibus mecum agebas ut ad urbem essem, te velle uti consilio et dignitate mea, minus sum admiratus; de gratia et de ope quid significares mecum ipse quaerebam: spe tamen deducebar ad eam cogitationem ut te pro tua admirabili ac singulari sapientia de otio, de pace, de concordia civium agi velle arbitrarer; et ad eam rationem existimabam satis aptam esse et naturam et personam meam. Quod si ita est, et si qua de Pompeio nostro tuendo et tibi ac rei publicae reconciliando cura te attingit, magis idoneum quam ego sum ad eam causam profecto reperies neminem; qui et illi semper et senatui quum primum potui pacis auctor fui, nec sumptis armis belli ullam partem attingi; judicavique eo bello te violari contra cujus honorem populi Romani beneficio concessum inimici atque invidi niterentur. Sed ut eo tempore non modo ipse fautor dignitatis tuae fui verum etiam ceteris auctor ad te adjuvandum, sic me nunc Pompeii dignitas vehementer movet. Aliquot enim sunt anni quum vos duo delegi quos praecipue colerem et

9. This is an answer to the letter which Cicero received from Caesar by Furnius. It is preserved in a letter to Atticus, in which he says "Misi ad te exemplum literarum mearum ad Caesarem, quibus me aliquid profecturum puto."

*Personam*] See De Am. c. 1.

*Aliquot enim sunt anni quum*]

"It is now some years since," &c. as we say. 'Quum' is sometimes thus used to express a period of time past up to the present time. The French have the same expression with 'que;' for the text might be translated "il y a quelques années *que* je me suis attaché à vous deux."

quibus essem sicut sum amicissimus. Quamobrem a te peto vel potius omnibus precibus te oro et obtestor ut in tuis maximis curis aliquid impertias temporis huic quoque cogitationi, ut tuo beneficio bonus vir, gratus, pius denique esse in maximi beneficii memoria possim. Quae si tantum ad me ipsum pertinerent, sperarem me a te tamen impetraturum; sed, ut arbitror, et ad tuam fidem et ad rem publicam pertinet me e paucis et ad utriusque vestrum et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari. Ego quum antea tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, quum ei saluti qui mihi fuerat fuisses, tamen lectis ejus literis, quas ad me gratissimo animo de tua liberalitate beneficioque misit, eandem me salutem a te accepisse putavi quam ille; in quem si me intelligis esse gratum, cura, obsecro, ut etiam in Pompeium esse possim.

#### 10. CICERO ATTICO S.

(AD ATTICUM, IX. 16. A. U. C. 705.)

Quum quod scriberem ad te nihil haberem, tamen ne quem diem intermitterem has dedi literas. A. D. VI. Kal. Caesarem Sinuessae mansurum nuntiabant. Ab eo mihi literae redditae sunt A. D. VII. Kalend. quibus jam opes meas non ut superioribus literis opem exspectat. Quum

*In maximi beneficii memoria]* Cicero in this suppliant letter wishes to keep on good terms with Caesar, but yet not to act so towards Pompeius as to incur the charge of ingratitude to him. He wishes to be excused coming to Rome, where measures might be taken against Pompeius, to which he could not be a party consistently with gratitude to him.

*Lentulo]* P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was made prisoner in Corfinium by Caesar (Bell. Civ. i. 23) and released. This Lentulus

in his consulship took the lead in the recall of Cicero from exile, in which he was supported by Cn. Pompeius.

10. A letter to Atticus, in which he sends a copy of Caesar's letter to him. Pompeius having left Brundisium and sailed to the coast of Epirus, Caesar was now returning to Rome, as Cicero was informed, by way of Beneventum, Capua, and Sinuessa, at the close of the month of March.

*Opes—opem]* It does not seem likely that Caesar meant any thing



ejus clementiam Corfiniensem illam per literas collaudavisse, rescripsit hoc exemplo.

### CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. S. D.

Recte auguraris de me, bene enim tibi cognitus sum, nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate. Atque ego quum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem, tum meum factum probari abs te triumpho gaudio. Neque illud me movet quod ii qui a me dimissi sunt discessisse dicuntur ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent; nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui. Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis ut tuis consiliis atque opibus ut consuevi in omnibus rebus utar. Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse jucundius. Hanc adeo habebo gratiam illi; neque enim aliter facere poterit, tanta ejus humanitas, is sensus, ea in me est benevolentia.

### 11. SERVIUS CICERONI, S. P.

(IV. 12. A. U. C. 709.)

Etsi scio non jucundissimum me nuntium vobis allaturum, tamen, quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur, visum

by using the plural word instead of the singular, nor that Cicero seriously supposed that he did. But Cicero was fond of amusing himself with words.

*Ex ipsa re*] He means from his clemency to the prisoners at Corfinium.

*Triumpho gaudio*] This is probably the true reading, and not "triumpho et gaudeo," nor "triumpho, gaudeo." Cicero elsewhere uses the expression "exultare laetitia et triumphare gaudio."

*Mei similem*] Orelli, who has 'meis similem,' gives no notice of any various reading. The Variorum edition has 'mei.' Orelli's 'meis'

is apparently a misprint. 'Similis,' with a genitive as explained by Professor Key, is used as a noun. Lit. Gr. § 936.

*Dolabella*] Cicero's son-in-law, who had joined Caesar with the hope, it is said, of mending his fortune, for he was deeply in debt.

*Hanc adeo*] "This obligation further (adeo) I shall owe to him, for it will not be possible for him to do otherwise than urge you to come to Rome." But Cicero did not go, though Caesar had a personal interview with him and pressed him to go with him to Rome (Ad Att. xi. 18).

11. *Casus et natura*] "Since

est faciendum quoquo modo res se haberet vos certiores facere. A. d. x. Kal. Jun. quum ab Epidauro Piraeum navi advectus essem, ibi Marcellum collegam nostrum conveni, eumque diem ibi consumpsi ut cum eo essem. Postero die quum ab eo digressus essem eo consilio ut ab Athenis in Boeotiam irem reliquamque jurisdictionem absolverem, ille, ut aiebat, supra Maleam [in] Italiam versus navigaturus erat. Post diem tertium ejus diei, quum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem, circiter hora decima noctis P. Postumius, familiaris ejus, ad me venit, et mihi nuntiavit M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, post caenae tempus a P. Magio Cilone, familiare ejus, pugione percussus esse et duo vulnera accepisse, unum in stomacho,

fortune and nature over us human beings have full dominion." The reading 'in bonis,' is properly rejected. Sulpicius means to say that we are under the dominion of chance and accident, as well as under the established law of nature, by which all men must die.

*Collegam*] M. Claudius Marcellus was the colleague of Sulpicius in the consulship, B.C. 51.

*Ut ab Athenis*] The province of Sulpicius was Achaëa (xiii. 26). He had just come from Epidaurus in the Peloponnesus, and was going into Boeotia to finish his circuit, which he expresses by the words "reliquam jurisdictionem absolverem." The Roman governors made circuits in their provinces (conventus agebant) for the purpose of administering justice at fixed places, and transacting other matters which were done at the courts which they held. See Caesar (Bell. Gall. i. 54; vii. 1); Pliny, Hist. Nat. iii. 1, 3; on the 'conventus' of Spain.

*Supra Maleam*] Malea, the

south-eastern extremity of the Peloponnesus. Marcellus intended to make the voyage to Italy round the Peloponnesus. Cicero, as we have seen, took the route through Patrae on his return from his province.

*Post diem tertium, &c.*] There is a reading "postridie ejus diei," 'the day after that day.' The reading in the text means on the third day after that day, that is a day being interposed, for the first and third are included in the reckoning. This expression occurs in Cicero (Ad Att. iii. 7) and in Livy, xxvii. 35.

*Circiter hora decima*] There is a reading "horam decimam." The accusative with 'circiter' is the common usage, and Forcellini gives no other examples. The story shows that the tenth hour of the night was a little before day-break in the month of May. The daylight and the night were each divided into twelve hours, and the length of each hour would of course vary with the season.

alterum in capite secundum aurem ; sperare tamen eum vivere posse : Magium se ipsum interfecisse : postea se a Marcello ad me missum esse qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret uti medicos [cogerem]. Coegi, et e vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce. Quum non longe a Piraeo abessem, puer Acidini obviam mihi venit cum codicillis, in quibus erat scriptum paullo ante lucem Marcellum diem suum obisse. Ita vir clarissimus ab homine deterrimo acerbissima morte est affectus, et cui inimici propter dignitatem pepercerant, inventus est amicus qui ei mortem afferret. Ego tamen ad tabernaculum ejus perrexī. Inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos. Reliquos aiebant profugisse metu perterritos, quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset. Coactus sum in eadem illa lectica qua ipse delatus eram meisque lecticariis in urbem eum referre :

*Secundum aurem ;*] ‘Secundum’ is ‘sequendum,’ ‘following,’ ‘next to,’ in this case ‘behind.’ See Key’s Grammar, 1371.

*Uti medicos*] Some MSS. have “uti medicos cogerem,” but it is very probable that Sulpicius omitted the word ‘cogerem,’ which is the less necessary, because the next sentence begins with “coegi.” ‘E vestigio’ means ‘upon the track,’ ‘immediately ;’ as in cases where time is mentioned, ‘ex Kalendis,’ ‘immediately after the Kalends.’

*Codicilli*] A diminutive of ‘codex,’ means a writing tablet, or some material on which a letter was written. It appears to be used in the plural number, except in the Codex Theodosianus. The way in which the term ‘codicilli’ came to be applied to a codicil or testamentary disposition is explained in the Institutiones of Justinian (ii. tit. 25).

*Inimici—pepercerant*] Caesar

had allowed Marcellus, who had been his enemy, to return to Rome, and he was now on his way to Italy.—‘Offerret :’ Orelli.

*Perterritos*,] “In such a case,” says Tacitus (Ann. xiv. 42), “it was an old custom for all the slaves who had been under the same roof to be led to punishment.” This cruel custom was confirmed by a Senatus consultum, in the time of Augustus ; and there was another Senatus consultum (Neronianum) in the time of Nero, A.D. 57.

*Lectica*] A kind of palanquin, in which a person was carried in a reclining position, a kind of luxury suitable for a warm climate and lazy people. Such a man as Servius might use it, partly because his health does not seem to have been very strong, and partly perhaps for the convenience of reading.

ibique pro ea copia quae Athenis erat funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi. Ab Atheniensibus locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent; neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Quod proximum fuit, uti in quo vellemus gymnasio eum sepeliremus nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbis terrarum gymnasio Academiae locum delegimus ibique eum combussimus; posteaque curavimus ut iidem Athenienses in eodem loco monumentum ei marmoreum faciendum locarent. Ita quae nostra officia fuerunt pro collegio et pro propinquitate et vivo et mortuo omnia ei praestitimus. Vale. D. pr. Kal. Jun. Athenis.

## 12. SERVIUS CICERONI, S.

(IV. 5. A. U. C. 709.)

Posteaquam mihi renuntiatum est de obitu Tulliae, filiae tuae, sane quam pro eo ac debui graviter molesteque

*Pro ea copia*] Such as the means of Athens allowed, which at this time were not very great. Comp. 'pro viribus,' De Sen. c. 9. and 'pro tua . . . prudentia.' No. 19.

*Atheniensibus*] The Athenians did not allow the ashes of the dead to rest within the city, nor could the governor obtain permission from them to inter Marcellus there. This instance shows that the Romans did not interfere with the peculiar customs of some places within their dominions.

*Gymnasium*] Marcellus was buried in the Academia, where Plato taught.

*Locarent.*] See Smith's Dict. of Antiqs. 'Locatio.'

12. A letter from Servius Sulpicius to Cicero on the death of

his daughter, who was divorced from her third husband, P. Cornelius Dolabella, some time in B.C. 46. Early in B.C. 45 she gave birth to a son, and she died shortly after at her father's Tusculanum in February. Cicero himself was at this time divorced from Terentia, and had married Publilia, but the match was not a happy one, and he lost in his daughter the only domestic comfort that he had.

*Sane quam*] These words have no necessary connexion with "pro eo ac debui," "as my duty was," (See Ep. 11, "pro ea copia") for the sentence will be complete if they are omitted. Caelius says in a letter to Cicero (viii. 10) "sane quam literis C. Cassii et Deiotari sumus commoti:" "we were disturbed by the letters, mightily



tuli, communemque eam calamitatem existimavi; qui si istic adfuissem, neque tibi defuissem coramque meum dolorem tibi declarassem. Etsi genus hoc consolationis miserum atque acerbum est; propterea quia per quos ea confieri debet, propinquos ac familiares, ipsi pari molestia afficiuntur neque sine lacrimis multis id conari possunt: uti magis ipsi videantur aliorum consolatione indigere quam aliis posse suum officium praestare: tamen quae in praesentia in mentem mihi venerunt, decrevi brevi ad te perscribere; non quo ea te fugere existimem, sed quod forsitan dolore impeditus minus ea perspicias. Quid est quod tanto opere te commoveat tuus dolor intestinus? Cogita quemadmodum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit, ea nobis erepta esse quae hominibus non minus quam liberi cara esse debent, patriam, honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes. Hoc uno incommodo addito quid ad dolorem adjungi potuit? aut qui non in illis rebus exercitatus animus callere jam debet atque omnia minoris aestimare? An illius vicem, credo, doles? Quoties in eam cogitationem necesse est et tu veneris, et nos saepe incidimus,

how," that is 'disturbed.' There are other examples in Forcellini. Compare the uses of "mirum quam" and "quantum," "wonderful how much," like the Greek *θαυμαστόν ὅσον*.

*Miserum, &c.*] 'Wretched and painful,' for the reason which he gives.

*Propterea quia*] There is a reading "propterea quod," which is the common form of expression in some writers, as in Caesar. 'Propterea,' though it is 'propter ea,' came to be used as a single word, and the grammatical propriety of the 'ea' was neglected. —"Ii ipsi pari:" Orelli.

*Propinqui*] This word, the opposite of 'longinqui,' contains the

element 'prop' (prope), of which 'proximi' the superlative (prosimi) is often used to signify blood relations, though it has a larger signification generally.

*Ea nobis erepta esse*] Caesar was now at the height of his power. He was consul for the fourth time without a colleague, and was gone to finish the war in Spain against the sons of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

*Callere*] 'To be hardened.' 'Callum' is a hardening of the skin from use. "Mihi . . . calceamentum solorum callum." (Cic. Tusc. Quaest. v. 32); "my only shoe is the callum of my feet." — 'Existimare:' Orelli.

*Tu veneris, &c.*] 'Veneris' de-

hiscæ temporibus non pessime cum iis esse actum quibus sine dolore licitum est mortem cum vita commutare? Quid autem fuit quod illam hoc tempore ad vivendum magno opere invitare posset? quæ res? quæ spes? quod animi solatium? Ut cum aliquo adolescente primario conjuncta ætatem gereret? Licitum est tibi, credo, pro tua dignitate ex hac juventute generum deligere cujus fidei liberos tuos te tuto committere putares. An ut ea liberos ex sese pareret, quos quum florentes videret lætaretur? qui rem a parente traditam per se tenere possent? honores ordinatim petitura essent? in re publica, in amicorum negotiis libertate sua uterentur? Quid horum fuit quod non prius quam datum est ademptum sit? At vero malum est liberos amittere. Malum, nisi hoc pejus sit hæc sufferre et perpeti.

Quæ res mihi non mediocrem consolationem attulit, volo tibi commemorare, si forte eadem res tibi dolorem

pendens on 'necesse est.' 'Incidimus' does not; it is a distinct affirmation. On 'incidimus' Orelli remarks: "it is a slight ἀνακόλουθον, and it is Sulpicius that we are engaged with, not Cicero, which the critics have too often forgotten;" as if this most accomplished Roman could not write Latin.

*Mortem cum vita commutare?*] Manutius observes that this form of expression is not used by Cicero so far as he knows. The common construction of 'muto' is the accusative and ablative without 'cum.'

*Liberos tuos*] Used here for one child, his daughter. But the word 'liberi' is not limited to children: it comprehends all a man's direct descendants.

*Rem a parente*] There is nothing so difficult to translate as

such an expression as this, on account of its generality. There is no epithet 'publicam' or 'privatam' attached to it. It seems to mean "to maintain by their own efforts all that their father transmitted to them," both 'res publica' and 'res privata.'

*Honores ordinatim, &c.*] Become candidates for the 'honores' in the order in which a man must proceed from the lowest, a quaestorship, to the highest, the censorship.

*Uterentur?*] 'Uti:' Orelli.

*Volo tibi commemorare,*] 'I will tell you,' where 'will' expresses the notion of 'volo' nearer than any other word, though with less emphasis, because our 'will' has lost much of its primary sense, and is now used as one of the signs of futurity.

minuere possit. Ex Asia rediens quum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Aegina, ante Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus, quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent. Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, quum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera projecta jacent? Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum? Crede mihi, cogitatione ea non mediocriter sum confirmatus. Hoc idem, si tibi videtur, fac ante oculos tibi proponas. Modo uno tempore tot viri clarissimi interierunt: de imperio Populi Romani tanta deminutio facta est: omnes provinciae conquassatae sunt: in unius mulierculae animula si jactura facta est, tanto opere commoveris? quae si hoc tempore non diem suum obisset, paucis post annis tamen ei moriendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat. Etiam tu ab hisce rebus animum ac cogitationem tuam avoca, atque ea potius reminiscere quae digna tua persona sunt: illam quamdiu ei opus fuerit vixisse; una cum re publica fuisse; te patrem suum, praetorem, consulem, augurem vidisse; adolescentibus primariis nuptam fuisse; omnibus bonis prope perfunctam esse; quum res publica occideret, vita excessisse. Quid est quod tu aut illa cum

*Megaram*] This is a Roman form of the name. The Greek form is Megara, in the plural number.

*Visne tu te,*] Our idiom would use the negative, "Will you not check yourself?" So in Terence (Phormio, i. 1, 15) 'sed videon' Getam'?

*Deminutio*] There is a dispute whether the true form is 'deminutio' or 'diminutio,' a word which occurs also in the expression "ca-

pitis diminutio." A 'deminutio' is a diminishing or impairing of the state or condition of a thing. See the note, no. 3, on Majestas.

*Homo nata fuerat.*] 'A human being.' Homo has this general signification, as *ἄνθρωπος* in Greek, and 'Mensch' in German.

*Primariis*] Tullia's three husbands were all patricians, C. Calpurnius Piso, Furius Crassipes, and P. Cornelius Dolabella.

fortuna hoc nomine queri possitis? Denique noli te oblivisci Ciceronem esse, et eum qui aliis consueris praecipere et dare consilium; neque imitare malos medicos, qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi se curare non possunt; sed potius quae aliis tute praecipere soles, ea tute tibi subjice atque apud animum propone. Nullus dolor est quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat. Hoc te exspectare tempus tibi turpe est ac non ei rei sapientia tua te occurrere. Quod si qui etiam inferis sensus est, qui illius in te amor fuit pietasque in omnes suos, hoc certe illa te facere non vult. Da hoc illi mortuae; da ceteris amicis ac familiaribus qui tuo dolore maerent; da patriae, ut si qua in re opus sit opera et consilio tuo uti possit. Denique quoniam in eam fortunam devenimus ut etiam huic rei nobis serviendum sit, noli committere ut quisquam te putet non tam filiam quam rei publicae tempora et aliorum victoriam lugere. Plura me ad te de hac re scribere pudet, ne videar prudentiae tuae diffidere. Quare, si hoc unum proposuero, finem

*Pietas*] The full examination of this word would take up some space. Cicero (Or. Part. 22) has a definition of it which will help on the present occasion: "Justitia erga deos religio, erga parentes pietas nominatur." "The discharge of our duty (justitia) towards the gods is religion, towards parents it is called pietas." But the word has often a much wider application, as in the present passage. Its general notion is the discharge of duty; what duty is in each case, depends partly on the universal notion of virtue, partly on the peculiar notions of each age and country. The definition of 'pietas' depends on the notion of 'justitia,' which I have correctly translated 'the discharge of duty,'

for that was the Roman notion of 'justitia,' and the definition is adopted in the Institutes (i. tit. 1) "Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuens;" and the note in Schrader's edition.

*Huic rei*] This is another instance of the generality of the term 'res.' He says "since we have come down to such a condition that we must be slaves even to this thing," that is the present state of affairs, with Caesar for our master. 'Huic rei' seems to be said with some contempt. 'Aliorum victoriam' is an allusion to Caesar, who in this year finished his wars by the defeat of the sons of Cn. Pompeius at Munda, in Spain.



faciam scribendi. Vidimus aliquoties secundam pulcherrime te ferre fortunam, magnamque ex ea re te laudem apisci; fac aliquando intelligamus adversam quoque te aequae ferre posse, neque id majus quam debeat tibi onus videri, ne ex omnibus virtutibus haec una tibi videatur deesse. Quod ad me attinet, quum te tranquilliorum animo esse cognoro, de iis rebus quae hic geruntur, quemadmodumque se provincia habeat, certiorum faciam. Vale.

## 13. M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

(IV. 6. A. U. C. 709.)

Ego vero, Servi, vellem, ut scribis, in meo gravissimo casu adfuisses. Quantum enim praesens me adjuvare potueris et consolando et prope aequae dolendo, facile ex eo intelligo quod literis lectis aliquantum acquievi. Nam et ea scripsisti quae levare luctum possent, et in me consolando non mediocrem ipse animi dolorem adhibuisti. Servius tamen tuus omnibus officiis, quae illi tempori tribui potuerunt, declaravit et quanti ipse me faceret et quam suum talem erga me animum tibi gratum putaret fore; cujus officia jucundiora licet saepe mihi fuerint, numquam tamen gratiora. Me autem non oratio tua solum et societas paene aegritudinis sed etiam auctoritas consolatur. Turpe enim esse existimo me non ita ferre casum meum, ut tu tali sapientia praeditus ferendum putas. Sed opprimor

*Geruntur,—habeat,*] There is no inconsistency in these two forms, the choice of which depends on a very nice difference. “De iis rebus quae hic geruntur” is “about the things that are going on here.” Servius could certainly have said “quae hic gerantur quemadmodumque . . . : habeat, certiorum faciam,” but he would in

that case have adopted a general mode of expression in the first member of the sentence, which he has avoided by the use of the indicative.

13. The answer of Cicero to Servius.

*Ego vero,*] “I wish indeed you had been with me.” See no. 11, lib. i.

*Servius—tuus*] His son Servius by his wife Postumia.

interdum et vix resisto dolori, quod ea me solatia deficiunt quae ceteris quorum mihi exempla propono simili in fortuna non defuerunt. Nam et Q. Maximus, qui filium consularem, clarum virum et magnis rebus gestis amisit; et L. Paullus, qui duo septem diebus; et vester Gallus, et M. Cato, qui summo ingenio, summa virtute filium perdidit—iis temporibus fuerunt ut eorum luctum ipsorum dignitas consolaretur ea quam ex re publica consequabantur. Mihi autem, amissis ornamentis iis quae ipse commemoras quaeque eram maximis laboribus adeptus, unum manebat illud solatium quod ereptum est. Non amicorum negotiis, non rei publicae procuratione impediabantur cogitationes meae: nihil in foro agere libebat; adspicere curiam non poteram; existimabam, id quod erat, omnes me et industriae meae fructus et fortunae perdidisse. Sed quum cogitarem haec mihi tecum et cum quibusdam esse communia, et quum frangerem jam ipse me cogeremque illa ferre toleranter, habebam quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cujus in sermone et suavitate omnes curas doloresque deponerem. Nunc autem hoc tam gravi vulnere etiam illa, quae consanuisse videbantur, recrudescunt. Non enim, ut tum me a re publica maestum domus excipiebat quae levaret, sic nunc domo maerens ad rempublicam confugere possum ut in ejus bonis acquiescam. Itaque et domo absum et foro, quod nec eum dolorem quem a re publica capio domus jam consolari potest, nec domesticum res publica. Quo magis te exspecto, teque videre quam primum cupio. Major mihi levatio afferri

Q. *Maximus*,] Q. Fabius Maximus, whom he mentions in the *De Senectute*, c. 4, &c. L. Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perses, the last King of Macedonia, lost one son five days before his triumph, and another three days after his triumph. (Liv. xlv.

40.) C. Sulpicius Gallus, the conqueror of the Ligures, B.C. 227, is called 'vester,' apparently because he belonged to the same gens as Servius. These men are mentioned in the *De Amicitia*, c. 27. As to Cato, see *De Sen.* c. 23.

nulla potest quam conjunctio consuetudinis sermonumque nostrorum; quamquam sperabam tuum adventum, sic enim audiebam, appropinquare. Ego autem quum multis de causis te exopto quam primum videre, tum etiam ut ante commentemur inter nos qua ratione nobis traducendum sit hoc tempus, quod est totum ad unius voluntatem accommodandum, et prudentis, et liberalis, et, ut perspexisse videor, nec a me alieni, et tibi amicissimi. Quod quum ita sit, magnae est tamen deliberationis quae ratio sit ineunda nobis, non agendi aliquid, sed illius concessu et beneficio quiescendi.

## 14. CICERO CASSIO S.

(XII. 3. A. U. C. 710.)

Auget tuus amicus furorem in dies: primum in statua quam posuit in Rostris inscripsit PARENTI OPTIME MERITO, ut non modo sicarii sed jam etiam parricidae judicemini; quid dico, judicemini? judicemur potius; vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset! molestus nobis non esset. Sed hoc vestrum est, quod quoniam praeteriit, utinam haberem quid vobis darem consilii. Sed ne mihi quidem ipsi reperio quid faciendum sit. Quid enim est quod contra vim

*Ad unius]* This is Caesar. He was on good terms with Sulpicius, who opposed his colleague, M. Claudius Marcellus (B.C. 51) in his attempts to deprive Caesar of his command in Gallia.

14. This and the following letters were written after the assassination of Caesar, March 15.

*Tuus amicus]* M. Antonius, whom he ironically calls the friend of Cassius. The conspirators went up to the capitol after Caesar's death, but they came down after a

kind of reconciliation with Caesar's party, and Antonius entertained Cassius and others.

*In statua]* In the matter of Caesar's statue, on which he placed the inscription mentioned in the text.

*Judicemur]* Cicero says that he is charged with being one of the conspirators, though he was not. He wishes that he had been, for he would have had Antonius killed as well as Caesar.

sine vi fieri possit? Consilium omne autem hoc est illorum ut mortem Caesaris persequantur. Itaque a. d. vi. Non. Octob. productus in contionem a Canutio turpissime ille quidem discessit, sed tamen ea dixit de conservatoribus patriae quae dici deberent de proditoribus. De me quidem non dubitanter quin omnia de meo consilio et vos fecissetis et Canutius faceret. Cetera cujusmodi sint ex hoc judica, quod legato tuo viaticum eripuerunt. Quid eos interpretari putas quum hoc faciunt? Ad hostem scilicet portari. O rem miseram! dominum ferre non potuimus: conservo servimus. Et tamen me quidem favente magis quam sperante etiam nunc residet spes in virtute tua. Sed ubi sunt copiae? De reliquo malo te ipsum tecum loqui quam nostra dicta cognoscere. Vale.

## 15. CICERO DOLABELLAE CONSULI SUO S.

(IX. 14. A. U. C. 710.)

Etsi contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gloria, satisque ex

*Canutius*] The tribunos plebis Canutius allowed Antonius to address the people, but Antonius came off (discessit) very poorly, for Canutius (who was of the opposite faction) plagued him a good deal; yet Antonius abused the conspirators, whom Cicero calls the saviours of the country.

*Non dubitanter,*] The verb is omitted ('dixit,' or the like), which kind of omission is common in the Roman familiar style.

*Viaticum*] Cassius was pro-consul of Syria, and the partizans of Brutus had deprived his legatus of the usual allowance for the expenses of his journey. "Ad hostem portari" is rather obscure. It seems to mean that what was taken from the legatus of Cassius, was

carried away to the enemy, to the party of Antonius.

*Dominum*] We could bear Caesar as a master; we are now slaves to one who was our fellow-slave under Caesar. 'Dominus,' 'master,' correlates with 'servus,' 'slave.'

15. A letter to his former son-in-law, Dolabella, who after Caesar's death on the Ides of March, was made consul in the place of Caesar, and thus became the colleague of M. Antonius. He was, as Cicero calls him, 'juvenis,' about twenty-five years of age. He began by showing great zeal for the cause of the men who had murdered Caesar, and Cicero was delighted at his proceedings. As to the future conduct of Dolabella,



ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam, tamen non possum non confiteri cumulari me maximo gaudio, quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me adscribat tuis laudibus. Neminem conveni—convenio autem quotidie plurimos, sunt enim permulti optimi viri qui valetudinis causa in haec loca veniant, praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei—quin omnes, quum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas gratias agant. Negant enim se dubitare quin tu meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas. Quibus ego quamquam verissime possum respondere te quae facias tuo iudicio et tua sponte facere nec cujusquam egere consilio, tamen neque plane assentior, ne imminuam tuam laudem, si omnis a meis consiliis profecta videatur; neque valde nego: sum enim avidior etiam quam satis est gloriae: et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni regum regi fuit honestum habere aliquem in consiliis capiendis Nestorem, mihi vero gloriosum te juvenem consulem florere laudibus quasi alumnum disciplinae meae. L. quidem Caesar, quum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen ante quam me plane salutavit, O mi Cicero, inquit, gratulor tibi quum tantum vales apud Dolabellam quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, jam salvi esse possemus. Dolabellae vero

see no. 16. This man to whom Cicero writes in these terms was one of the worst men of his day.

*In haec loca*] Cicero was now at his Pompeianum, near Baiae.

*L. Caesar,*] This Caesar, who was consul B.C. 64, had a sister Julia, who was the mother of M. Antonius, consul with C. Julius Caesar in B.C. 44, and now consul with Dolabella; and the 'sororis filium,' whom Cicero mentions, is M. Antonius. This Caesar was

one of the men who were opposed to the measures of Antonius; but it does not appear that he was in any way a party to the conspiracy against the life of the dictator Caesar.

*Quum—vales*] This 'quum vales' must be connected with "gratulor tibi," "I congratulate you on having so much influence with Dolabella." See Key's Grammar, 1455.

tuo et gratulor, et gratias ago, quem quidem post te consulem solum possumus vere consulem dicere. Deinde multa de facto ac de re gesta; tum nihil magnificentius, nihil praeclarius actum umquam, nihil rei publicae salutaris. Atque haec una vox omnium est.

A te autem peto ut me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae sinas cernere, meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiari. Quamquam, mi Dolabella, haec enim jocus sum, libentius omnes meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae laudes, ad te transfuderim quam aliquam partem exhauserim ex tuis. Nam quum te semper tantum dilexerim quantum tu intelligere potuisti, tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum ut nihil umquam in amore fuerit ardentius. Nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius. Semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum, propter ejus summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem atque constantiam. Tamen Idib. Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem ut mirarer locum fuisse augendi in eo quod mihi jampridem cumulatam etiam videbatur. Quis erat qui putaret ad eum amorem quem erga te habebam posse aliquid accedere?

*De facto, &c.*] His great exploits were pulling down the altar and column erected by some persons in honour of Caesar, and punishing the men engaged in this matter, — crucifying slaves, and throwing freemen down the Tarpeian rock; which Cicero calls ‘heroic deeds.’ (Ad Att. xiv. 15; and Philipp. i. 12.)

*Hereditatem*] ‘Hereditatem cernere’ is a legal expression, which signifies to determine whether a man will take possession of an ‘hereditas,’ that is a whole property of a deceased person, to which he is entitled either by the testament of the deceased, or in

the absence of a testament, by his title as kinsman. The formal words used for expressing a man’s intention to take possession of an hereditas, were “eam hereditatem adeo cernoque.” (See Gaius, ii. 165; and comp. Cic. Ad Attic. xi. 12.) With this explanation Cicero’s expression in the text may be understood.

*Idib. Martiis*] The day of Caesar’s assassination. Though he speaks in such terms of the deed of that day, the conspirators did not let him into the secret. They feared his irresolution. But Cicero was present and saw the bloody butchery.

Tantum accessit ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse. Quare quid est quod ego te horter ut dignitati et gloriæ servias? proponam tibi claros viros, quod facere solent qui hortantur? Neminem habeo clariorem quam te ipsum. Te imitere oportet: tecum ipse certes. Ne licet quidem tibi jam tantis rebus gestis non tui similem esse. Quod quum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria; gratulatione magis utendum est. Contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa sed etiam popularis esset, et quum bonis omnibus tum infimo cuique gratissima. Hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuæ: sed contigit magnitudine quum animi tum etiam ingenii atque consilii. Legi enim contionem tuam. Nihil illa sapientius. Ita pedetentim et gradatim tum accessus a te ad causam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium concessu daret. Liberasti igitur et urbem periculo et civitatem metu; neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti sed etiam ad exemplum. Quo facto intelligere debes in te positam esse rem publicam, tibi que non modo tuendos, sed etiam ornandos esse illos viros, a quibus initium libertatis profectum est. Sed his de rebus coram plura propediem, ut spero. Tu

*Fortuna—felicitati*] This confirms what has been said in another place (De Am. c. 10) that 'felicitas' is 'good fortune,' 'good luck.'

*Contionem*] This word which means a meeting for some public business, in which the meeting was addressed by a speaker, came by use to signify a speech made to such meeting.

*Accessus, &c.*] Manutius explains this, perhaps correctly; in your harangue you approached with such steady and regular step

towards showing the cause of this irregular movement (facti), and then from the cause moved back to the measures to be adopted that, &c. This is one of those sentences which make us feel the extreme difficulty which we often have, in rendering in precise terms the comprehensive forms of expression which Cicero uses. The form of speech is a metaphor derived from attacking and retreating.

*Illos viros,*] M. Brutus, Cassius, and others of the conspirators.

quoniam rem publicam nosque conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias.

## 16. CICERO TREBONIO S.

(x. 28. A. U. C. 711.)

Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus. At nunc cum iis tantum negotii est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rem publicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querelam. Quod vero a te viro optimo seductus est tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor. Mihi enim negotii plus reliquisti uni quam praeter me omnibus. Ut enim primum post Antonii foedissimum discessum senatus haberi libere potuit, ad illum animum meum reverti pristinum, quem tu cum civi acerrimo patre tuo in ore et amore semper habuisti. Nam quum senatum a. d. XIII. Kalendas Januarias tribuni plebi vocavissent deque alia re referrent, totam rem pub-

16. C. Trebonius was made consul in B.C. 45, by Caesar; and he was one of the foremost in the conspiracy against him in the following year. After Caesar's death he went as proconsul to Asia, where Dolabella caught him, at Smyrna, B.C. 43, and killed him.

*Pulcherrimas epulas*] "How glad I should have been if you had invited me to that most glorious banquet on the Ides of March" (the murder of Caesar): "we would have had no leavings." Cicero means that M. Antonius also would have been killed, if he had had a part in the affair. Cicero says in a letter to Cassius (Ad Div. xii. 4), "Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad coenam invitasses:

reliquiarum nihil fuisset."

*Cum iis, &c.*] "The only trouble now is with them," with the reliquiae, with Antonius whom you saved. Antonius was taken aside (seductus) by Trebonius, and kept out of the senate house while the murder was done.—'His,' some MSS.

*Mihi enim negotii*] The saving of the life of Antonius had caused, says Cicero, particular trouble to himself, for he was the special object of the enmity of Antonius. An expression in the letter to Cassius (xii. 4) explains this: "nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter ceteros me."

*Discessum*] The flight of Antonius to Cisalpine Gaul.



licam sum complexus egique acerrime, senatumque jam languentem et defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi magis animi quam ingenii viribus. Hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae. Nec vero ipse postea tempus ullum intermisi de re publica non cogitandi solum sed etiam agendi. Quod nisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem, quamquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus. Sed illa cognosces ex aliis; a me pauca, et ea summatim. Habemus fortem senatum; consulares partim timidos, partim male sentientes. Magnum damnum factum est in Servio. L. Caesar optime sentit: sed quod avunculus est non acerrimas dicit sententias. Consules egregii: praeclarus D. Brutus: egregius puer Caesar, de quo spero equidem reliqua. Hoc vero certum habeto, nisi ille veteranos celeriter

*Complexus sum*] "When the tribuni plebi were for bringing on the matter before the senate, I entered on the subject of the general state of affairs;" in the third Philippic.

*Consulares*] Those who had attained the rank of consul.

*Servio.*] Servius Sulpicius, the author of the letter of consolation to Cicero. In B.C. 43, he was sent with two other commissioners to M. Antonius, who was besieging Decimus Brutus at Mutina (Modena). Sulpicius died before Mutina, and on the motion of Cicero (Philipp. ix.) a public funeral was voted, and a bronze statue erected to the memory of one of the most virtuous and illustrious of the Romans.

*L. Caesar*] The uncle of M. Antonius (no. 15), his mother's brother (avunculus).

The Romans had names for all

degrees of consanguinity, either through the male or the female. Thus 'patruus' was a father's brother. There is a list of all the words used to express the degrees of consanguinity in the Institutiones of Justinian (iii. tit. 6, De Gradibus Cognationis).

*Consules egregii:*] A. Hirtius and Q. Vibius Pansa, who fell before Mutina in April, B.C. 43.

*Puer Caesar,*] This boy was C. Octavius, who had assumed the name of his great uncle, the dictator. The boy in the next year allowed Antonius to take off Cicero's head. After getting rid of his colleagues in the triumvirate, Antonius and Lepidus, he became the ruler of the Roman state, and is commonly called the emperor Augustus.

*Veteranos*] This youth of his own authority raised a force among the veterans, whom the dictator

conscriptisset legionesque duae de exercitu Antonii ad ejus se auctoritatem contulissent atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris, nihil crudelitatis praetiturum fuisse. Haec tibi etsi audita esse arbitrabar volui tamen notiora esse. Plura scribam, si plus otii habuero.

17. M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

(XI. 8. A. U. C. 711.)

Eo tempore Polla tua misit ut ad te si quid vellem darem literarum, quum quid scriberem non habebam. Omnia enim erant suspensa propter expectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent nihildum nuntiabatur. Haec tamen scribenda existimavi: primum, S. P. Q. R. de te laborare, non solum salutis suae causa sed etiam dignitatis tuae. Admirabilis enim est quaedam tui nominis caritas, amorque in te singularis omnium civium. Ita enim sperant atque confidunt, ut antea rege, sic hoc tempore regno te rem publicam liberaturum. Romae delectus habetur totaque Italia, si hic delectus appellandus est quum ultro se offerunt omnes: tantus ardor occupavit animos hominum desiderio libertatis odioque diutinae servitutis. De reliquis rebus a te jam exspectare literas debemus, quid ipse agas, quid noster Hirtius, quid Caesar meus; quos spero brevi

planted in Campania, and he led them to Rome. Two legions of Antonius, the Martia and Quarta, passed over to him, which alarmed Antonius, and drove him to seek safety in north Italy, in the month of November, B.C. 44.

17. *Polla*] Polla was the wife of Decimus Brutus. Her name was Valeria Paulla. (Ad Div. viii. 7.) Manutius compares the form Polla with 'olla,' a form of 'aula.' This lady put away her husband in order to marry Brutus.

*Legati*] L. Marcus Philippus

and L. Calpurnius Piso, who with Servius Sulpicius were sent on the mission to M. Antonius. This letter was written before the battle of Mutina.

*Nihildum*] 'Dum,' a word of time, is often used as an enclitic, as 'nondum,' 'interdum,' 'adesdum' (Ter. And. i. 1, 2), and in other cases.

*Rege,*] The 'rex' is the dictator Caesar. The 'regnum' the domination of M. Antonius.

*Caesar meus;*] The 'puer Caesar' (no. 16).

tempore societate victoriae tecum copulatos fore. Reliquum est ut de me id scribam quod te ex tuorum literis et spero et malo cognoscere, me neque deesse ulla in re neque umquam defuturum dignitati tuae.

## 18. GALBA CICERONI S.

(x. 30. A. U. C. 711.)

[A.D.] xvii. Kalend. Maias, quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus cum quo ego eram—nam ei obviam processeram millia passuum centum, quo maturius veniret—Antonius legiones eduxit duas, secundam et quintam tricesimam, et cohortes praetorias duas, unam suam, alteram Silani, [et] evocatorum partem. Ita obviam venit nobis, quod nos quatuor legiones tironum habere solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra possemus, legionem Martiam cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas cohortes praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis. Quum equites Antonii apparuissent, contineri neque legio Martia neque cohortes praetoriae potuerunt, quas sequi coepimus coacti, quoniam retinere eas non potueramus. Antonius ad Forum Gallorum suas copias continebat; neque sciri volebat se legiones habere: tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Posteaquam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa, sequi se duas legiones jussit tironum. Posteaquam angustias paludis et silvarum transiimus, acies est instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. Nondum venerant legiones

18. A letter from Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who was employed by C. Julius Caesar in his Gallic wars (Bell. Gall. iii. 1, &c.). He was the great-grandfather of the emperor Galba. He describes in this letter the battle near Mutina.

*Evocatorum*] Evocati were veterani, who had served their time and again joined an army, not by compulsion, but at the request of a

commander: whence they were said 'evocari.' This is the explanation of Lipsius (Op. iii. p. 47, De Militia Romana, ed. 1675). The 'tirones' were raw soldiers.

*Forum Gallorum*] Supposed to be a place, now called Castel Franco, on the Aemilia Via, which ran from Ariminum (Rimini) through Mutina to Mediolanum (Milan).

duae; repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit et sine mora concurrat. Primo ita pugnatum est ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari: etsi dexterius cornu, in quo ego eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo, impetu primo fugaverat legionem xxxv Antonii, ut amplius passus [quingentos] ultra aciem quo loco steterat processerit. Itaque quum equites nostrum cornu circumire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem armaturam opponere Maurorum equitibus, ne aversos nostros aggredierentur. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos Antoniumque post me esse aliquanto. Repente equum immisi ad eam legionem tironum quae veniebat ex castris, scuto rejecto. Antoniani me insequi: nostri pila conjicere velle. Ita nescio quo fato sum servatus, quod sum cito a nostris cognitus.

In ipsa Aemilia, ubi cohors Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu sinisterius quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legionis duae cohortes erant, et cohors praetoria, pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu circumibantur quo vel plurimum valet Antonius. Quum omnes se recepissent nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra. Antonius tamquam victor castra putavit se posse capere; quo quum venit, complures ibi amisit, nec egit quidquam. Audita re Hirtius cum cohortibus viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua castra occurrit, copiasque ejus omnes delevit, fugavit; eodemque loco, ubi erat pug-

*Vico*] A 'vicus' is a place, which was attached to some other place, or 'res publica,' that is a town of some description. A vicus had no political character. A 'forum' is a place between a 'civitas' and a 'vicus': it was attached to some 'res publica,' but it had a political character, that is, it was a corporate body. (Savigny, System des Heut. Röm. Rechts, ii. 235.)

*Amplius passus*] "This omis-

sion of 'quam,' without affecting the case, is limited to the adjectives 'major,' 'minor,' and the adverbs 'plus,' 'minus,' 'amplius,' which however may also have the ordinary construction." Key's Grammar, 1055, a. note.

*Aversos*] "In the rear," the opposite of 'adversus.'

*Equum immisi*] "Put my horse to his speed."



natum, ad Forum Gallorum, Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. Hirtius in ea castra rediit unde Pansa exierat, ubi duas legiones reliquerat quae ab Antonio erant oppugnatae. Sic partem majorem suarum copiarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id tamen sine aliqua jactura cohortium praetoriarum nostrarum et legionis Martiae fieri potuit. Aquilae duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antonii. Res bene gesta est. A. d. XII. Kalendas Maias, ex castris.

19. M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

(XI. 12. A. U. C. 711.)

Tres uno die a te accepi epistolas; unam brevem quam Flacco Volumnio dederas; duas pleniores quarum alteram tabellarius T. Vibii attulit, alteram ad me misit Lupus. Ex tuis literis et ex Graeceii oratione non modo non restinctum bellum sed etiam inflammatum videtur. Non dubito autem pro tua singulari prudentia quin perspicias, si aliquid firmitatis nactus sit Antonius, omnia tua illa praeclara in rem publicam merita ad nihilum esse ventura. Ita

*Aquilae, &c.*] The ‘aquila,’ or eagle, was a small figure of an eagle, of silver or other metal, with expanded wings. It was a ‘signum,’ or military standard; but it appears from this and other passages that ‘signum’ was a general name, and ‘aquila’ a special name. The ‘aquila’ was the ‘signum,’ or standard of the legion; and the ‘signa,’ in the more general sense, were the standards of the ‘manipuli,’ of which there were thirty in each legion. See the note of Manutius.

19. *Graeceii, &c.*] “From what Graeceius tells me.” He was a friend of Cicero, whom he mentions several times.

*Nihilum*] This word is ‘ne’ and ‘hilum.’ It is used in the accusative, genitive (nihili); and ablative, as in ‘nihilominus;’ and in Lucretius, i. 265:

——“docui nil posse creari  
De nihilo, neque item genita ad  
nihilum revocari.”

The shortened forms of it are ‘nihil’ and ‘nil.’ The Romans did not seem to be quite certain what ‘hilum’ originally meant. There is an explanation of it by Festus v. Hilum. The word was used however to signify some very small trifling thing, as a little bit of straw, or a projecting thread on a piece of cloth, or the like. It

enim Romam erat nuntiatum, ita persuasum omnibus, cum paucis inermis perterritis metu fracto animo fugisse Antonium. Qui si ita se habet ut, quemadmodum audiebam de Graeceio, configi cum eo sine periculo non possit, non ille mihi fugisse a Mutina videtur sed locum belli gerendi mutasse. Itaque homines alii facti sunt; nonnulli etiam queruntur quod persecuti non sitis. Opprimi potuisse, si celeritas adhibita esset, existimant. Omnino est hoc populi, maximeque nostri, in eo potissimum abuti libertate per quem eam consecutus sit. Sed tamen providendum est ne qua justa querela esse possit. Res se sic habet. Is bellum confecerit qui Antonium oppresserit. Hoc quam vim habeat te existimare malo quam me apertius scribere.

occurs in the old poets, and has the penultima long; as in Lucretius, iii. 843.

*Alii*] "Men change their minds." They who thought so

well of your exploits, now begin to disparage you.

*In eo*] "In the case of the person of all others, by whom," &c.

## APPENDIX.

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### PREFACE.

I DID not see the second edition of Mr. Robson's Exercises until my Preface was in type, and the first sheet was printed. "The principal difference," observes Mr. Robson, "between this and the former edition, is the substitution of a series of Latin Reading-Lessons for the Exercises on Caesar, which are now published separately." The Lessons, founded on the first part of the Exercises, consist of sentences composed by the author; to which no serious objection can be made, as they are very short sentences, which may be constructed without any error. "The lessons in the second, third, and fourth parts are nearly all taken from the best authors, and chiefly from the writings of Caesar, to which they are especially intended as an introduction," &c. Mr. Robson's work thus consists of an Exercise-book and Reading-lessons in one small volume, the study of which will qualify a boy to begin Caesar, and he will require no other help except a grammar. This mode of preparing a boy to read Caesar combines simplicity and economy, two things that are much wanted in our classical studies. Those who will compare Mr. Robson's book and his preface with my preface, will see that we have arrived at nearly the same result, as to the method of teaching the elementary part of the language. The difference between the two methods will also appear from a comparison of the two prefaces.

I do not object to a boy being exercised in the construction of short Latin sentences on a proper method; for this discipline, combined with the study of simple and easy Latin sentences, will render him better qualified to begin the reading of a Latin author, which is the object of Mr. Robson's book. But I maintain, that the power of constructing Latin sentences of all the various forms that are required to express

such things as Latin writers have expressed, cannot be attained by the use of Exercise-books, and that it can be got in no other way than that which Ascham recommends, and by the diligent study of the Latin writers under a good teacher.

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NOTES.

The brevity which I have aimed at in the notes may have occasionally caused some obscurity; and the variety of matter which presents itself to a commentator in quick succession, will sometimes cause him to fall into error. I may have made several mistakes, which I have not discovered, though I have read over the notes carefully since they were printed. The following matters require a short notice.

Page 80. “‘Quapropter’ is only another form of ‘quae propter,’ and correlative with ‘propterea.’” This may be misunderstood. I have no doubt that Forcellini is right, in saying that ‘quapropter’ is equivalent to ‘quam rem propter,’ and so it is the correlative of ‘propterea,’ of which word and of ‘anteā,’ ‘interea,’ Professor Key remarks (Grammar, § 802), they “appear to have been corrupted from accusatives in *am.*” Compare also ‘antequam,’ ‘posteaquam,’ ‘contra quam’ (p. 128). This word ‘quam’ has a very extensive usage, and it would be worth a person’s while to give it a full examination. What I have said (p. 211) about ‘propterea’ being ‘propter ea,’ &c. is correct, whether we suppose it to be ‘propter eā’ or ‘propterea,’ that is ‘propter eam.’

Page 136. There is a selection of Cicero’s Letters, by K. F. Süpflé, Karlsruhe, 1849, 3rd ed. It consists of 181 letters, selected from those to Atticus and from the other collection, so as to illustrate the principal events of Cicero’s public life. It also contains, by way of appendix, three letters selected from the *Epistolae ad Brutum*, though the author appears to doubt the genuineness of these letters. Another German has lately undertaken to defend their genuine character, for the sake, I suppose, of being singular.

These letters of Süpflé are well selected for the purpose, and the editor has added such historical notes as serve to explain them. But his notes, though often useful, are not complete enough, as it seems to me; and he has done little for the explanation of the language. His selection contains several of the letters which I have selected, and I



have compared his notes with mine, since mine were printed. There is little in common to the two sets of notes. I have explained many things which he has not; and when we have explained the same thing, I see little in his notes that I should choose to transfer to my own. We have had different objects in view. There is a passage in the long letter *Ad Qu. Fr.* (p. 136), which I have perhaps mistaken. The passage is contained in the sentence, "*Quamobrem qui—simulent,*" and the words to which I refer are "*careant iis omnibus rebus,*" &c. Süpfle's explanation is this: "Cicero says, such provinciales, Romans, who for the sake of gain remain many years in the province, renounce all that others cannot bear to be without—fatherland, friends, in short, all the nobler pleasures and enjoyments, which the true Roman thought that he could only find in Rome."

Page 144. '*Vectigali Aedilicio.*' When I say, if the 'numerals mean that,' I mean to say that we cannot be certain what is intended by the abbreviation H-S C C, which must mean more than the bare symbols in the text signify. A large sum is certainly meant. As the text stands, the symbols denote only 200 sestertii; which is manifestly wrong. If the horizontal line is supposed to be placed over the CC, the symbols, it is said, would denote 'ducenties.'

Page 144. '*Nobilis.*' If Cicero was ennobled by obtaining the curule aedileship, he was '*nobilis*' before he was '*praetor.*' Becker (*Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, 2ter Theil, p. 220, n. 447) argues that he became '*nobilis*,' when he was elected curule aedile. (In *Verr. v. 14*: comp. *De Lege Agr. ii. 1.*) He observes in another place (p. 224), that the notion of *Nobilitas* and the *Jus imaginis* is connected with the curule magistracies: the *Patricii* are certainly *Nobiles*, but their *nobilitas* is independent of the magistracy; among themselves they are all of equal rank by birth, and no *Patrician*, who was the first of his family to obtain the consulship, is for that reason a *Novus*; but the first plebeian consul of a family is also the first '*novus homo.*' Those who have been accustomed to study the political history of Rome, are well aware of the difficulty of these investigations. Though we may admit that a man became '*nobilis*,' in a sense, on attaining any curule office, I am rather inclined to think that the curule aedileship hardly placed a man among the *Nobiles*, in the full sense of the term. There is nothing surprising in such a word having rather a loose meaning.

Page 187. Note on no. 41. "He went no farther than Rhegium." For fear of being accused of error in this statement, which is substantially correct, I add, that Cicero got as far as Syracuse (August 1), on

sailing from which place he was driven by the wind to Leucopetra, in the territory of Rhegium, and from thence he returned to Rome on the 31st of August. So far as concerned his voyage to Greece, he got no farther than Rhegium.

Page 202. 'Habes.' I might have added that this use of the word seems to be an application of the expression 'habet,' which is said of a gladiator who has been wounded by his opponent. Compare the use of 'habet' in Terence, *Andria*, i. 1, 56; and Lipsius, *Saturn.* ii. c. 21. vol. iii. p. 574, ed. 1675.

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<sup>1</sup> In p. 47, note, for 'Lycurgus,' read 'Lysander.'

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